1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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764 white one) and a goat (any colour but white) and some flour and water.
793 I give the flour-water first, saying: "My father, accept this water, drink, and give it to this earth; death has killed and they have called me and taken their fowl and goat and given them to you because they will beat your head; because of this they say that I must receive and give to you".

'The fowl is then killed beside the grave: "My father, receive and give to the land." The goat is killed and its blood caught in a red pot. The fowl is roasted whole. The goat is skinned and the flesh divided; I take a hind leg, the head, neck, liver, and skin. We all eat at the grave-side. A small piece of each sacrifice is put on the land. The corpse is brought and taken from its mat; it is buried naked save for a goat-skin. The corpse is laid on its right side, knees drawn up, hands folded under the cheeks. If the dead is a male, he faces east, because a man is always impatient for dawn. A woman is buried facing the setting sun because she is always so busy that she says, "The sun is setting, I shall not have time to grind; I shall not have time to get my husband's food." As the body is being lowered I say to the land, "Receive your thing, let it go inside nicely".' A stone is placed over the entrance of the grave. The *Ten'dan*' takes a hoe and scrapes up some earth from each side over the stone; others then complete the work.'

764 Figs. 64–5 show Talense graves. Fig. 64 is that of a Chief. I do not
622 think that there is any doubt but that the design of the spirit shrines were originally copied from such structures. The shape of a Talense grave within, is, I am informed, like that already described, i.e. more or less circular with a bottle-neck. Chiefs, who, as we have seen, are of Mampruse origin, are buried in their own compound in a room which is broken down after the funeral custom.[1] The grave of a Chief is called *duye*, that of a commoner *yeo*. Chiefs are sacrificed to on the *duye* by the eldest son. 'When a man or woman dies, he or she will become an axe or bangle.'

● 778 *Shrines*: Talense shrines and the cult associated with them appear
[171] to be very similar to those of the Nankanse. I propose to take my
782 reader round the compound of my friend Sayebere, a *Ten'dan*' of
724 Tongo (see frontispiece), and let him describe in his own words the various shrines which are there encountered. Outside the compound walls is a pot set on stones, containing, he said, ground roots and earth. On top of the pot is a head-rest, smeared with the feathers of past sacrifices, and on top of this again, a stone. This fetish (*tim*, lit. 'medi-

[1] A room near the outside is chosen.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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cine' or 'roots') is 'to prevent war'; it is called *mweley* (compare Nankane *mweleya*[1]). 'When the war cry is raised I will first sacrifice a fowl on the stone, saying: "They want to shoot arrows, and I wish to stop it; receive a fowl, and compel them not to shoot; let the women and children sleep." The stone on top of the head-rest signifies that we compel people to sit down. After I sacrifice the fowl, cow dung

Fig. 66

and corn-cobs are placed round the pot and set on fire, while I say: "My father, call your father; let women and children sleep; they wish to shoot arrows; fire wants to burn the land, but I wish it to be cool." When the fire which I have lit goes out, the war is also burning out. The roots inside the pot are from a shea butter tree; when you eat shea butter your heart will become cool. This *tim bagere* (medicine shrine) is related to the one I wear round my neck which is also called *mweley*. I take it off and place it on top of the stone when the fire is burning. Some *mweley* are now used by Chiefs to encourage disputes in order that they may be able to fine people.'

The above account was written nearly two years before my note on the same subject among the Nankanse.[2] I had, indeed, forgotten the latter, until I came to go over my notes in writing these volumes. It affords a good example, coupled with other evidence, of the close resemblance between the religion and customs of these two tribes, and also of the accuracy of the information imparted by two wholly independent informants. Unfortunately, the photograph I took of this shrine was not successful, but Fig. 66 A, is a rough diagram illustrating it and other shrines standing beside it. On the left of the *mweley* fetish stand two conical mounds, B and C. B is, Sayebere informed me, that of his *yab-pɔk la o bi* (grandmother and her son). The clay mound had a flat piece of iron on top covered by a potsherd and stone. C is a *Ɣini zug-bagere* (God-above shrine). On the apex of the mound was a piece of iron let into the clay which was covered

[1] See p. 303. [2] See p. 304.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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[facing p. 354]

FIG. 68. 'Sayebere's hand is resting on the chameleon'

FIG. 69. Talense shrines

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1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11

778 with congealed blood and fowls' feathers. The top was protected with the usual broken pot.

'Into the first, B, come the spirits of three persons to receive flour-water and fowls; they help me to find wives and children. The second, C, is my *Ɣini* who sent me down and gave me life and my Ten'dan'ship.

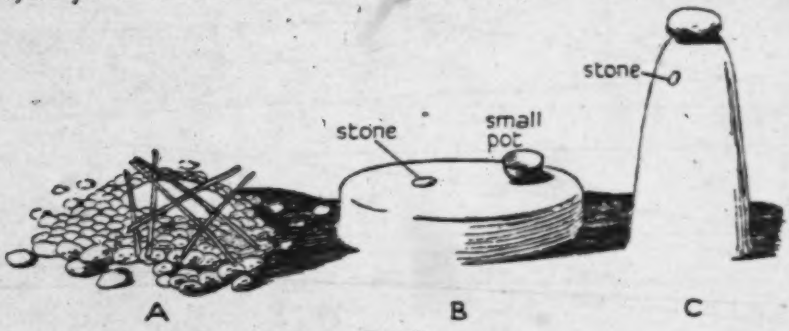

FIG. 67

It helps me to get life, women and children. God kept me formerly, afterwards he sent me.'

Facing these two shrines, and close to the wall of the *zoyo* hut, were three more shrines, see Fig. 67.

B is the *Ɣini* of Sayebere's father, Pirun. A he called a *Ɣobog'*. A consisted of a heap of round stones with sticks laid on top, surrounding a larger stone sunk in the ground. 'The small round stones are there for the *tobog'* to throw at anything bad coming into the compound. The *tobog'* is *tim* (medicine) to protect me and give me life,' he said, 'It belonged to my father'. I think there is little doubt but that this shrine was for the spirit of a man whom Sayebere's father had killed. (Compare the Nankanse *tobega*.) C was a tall conical shrine, with a stone let into the mud surface, called *duŋ-kpaleg*; 'It was my father's *bogere*,' said Sayebere. 'The power of my hat and skin are in it. When I sacrifice to it, I call all the spirits of the old *Ten'dan'* and of my father to assemble and drink water, striking the stone let into the side with the stone which rests on top.'

769

Shrines Inside the Compound: Inside the compound in the yard, called in Talene *dendɔŋ* (in Nankane *zinzaka*), is a large grain-store (*bur*; Nankane *bare*) with a chameleon (*nangan*; Nankane *ngana*) in bas-relief on the side (see Fig. 68; Sayebere's hand is resting on the chameleon[1]). This is the shrine of his father's father's wife, a certain

[1] Compare Fig. 30, which shows a similar shrine among the Nankanse.

1: Rattray, E. G-5 (ca. 1920) 1932
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FIG. 70. A *tim bager*

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FIG. 71. 'The soothsayer then began to rattle'

[facing p. 355]

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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Bama. At the foot of this grain-store were other shrines, seen rather indistinctly in the photograph.

One is the shrine for the spirit of a woman called Tapur, who was a co-wife to Bama, both being wives of Sayebere's paternal grandfather. Another is a shrine of Bama. There was also a large stone. 'Bama asked for this through a soothsayer.'

Moving further round the grain-store we come to another series of shrines which are illustrated in the photographs, Figs. 69–70.

In Fig. 69 A is the shrine of the *Ten'dan's* own mother, Kurug; the actual spirit is in the head of a hoe let into the clay; B, a log of wood with a stone on top. I seem to have omitted to record what this was; C is a pot out of which an infant which has become ward of a spirit is given to drink.

Fig. 70 Sayebere called a *tim bager*', 'But,' he added, 'it is also called *anoa-dok* (a mouth pot).'[1] He was in a state of great trepidation lest I should uncover it, saying, holding his nostrils as he spoke, 'It is my life. When I sacrifice to it I say, "Mouth pot receive and protect me from mouths".' It had, he said, many avoidances; these included: Passing behind its owner when he was eating; carrying a flaming faggot past it; mention of the word moon (*mwarega*) while its owner was eating.

The fetish consisted of a pot, covered with another broken pot, a bow, bundle of arrows, and a quiver. The bow, arrows, and quiver had, he said, been added to the pot after consultation with a soothsayer.

Bogere and Bagere: There seems a distinction between these shrines so named, which hardly appears to exist among the Nankanse.

'A *bogere*,' said my Talena informant, 'you fetch from your mother's country after she is dead. You go to your mother's father's compound, and take some earth from the *bagere* of your mother's father and put this in a calabash, which your wife will carry home. She must not speak to any one except her husband on the return journey. This soil will be put in a horn and is called my mother's *bogere*. Your mother's spirit may have become an iron bangle, that is a *bagere*; a *bogere* is like a shade to a *bagere*. A man's house may become 'bitter'; he consults and is told that it is his mother who wants a room. He makes one; that is a *bagere*. After that, he will go to his mother's home and bring earth from the mound which has been made there for his mother's father's spirit, and bring it home, and build a new mound with the

[1] See p. 301.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11

new soil and the old. This new mound is a *bogere*. When the *bogere* comes, the *bagere* has become strong. When he wants to sacrifice he will say: "My mother, call your father."

'A mother's spirit has power over her son. Suppose your mother's spirit wants to punish (*ey*, lit. to "do") her son, and the father's spirit wishes to prevent her doing so, the mother will say to her husband, "Had I died while in conception, would you have had this child?"'

Among the Nankanse the word *bugere* or *bogere* is used only in connexion with a *bakologo* shrine. An ordinary *bagere* has no *bogere*, but when a soothsayer's shrine is made, in which is, e.g., the soothsayer's mother's mother's spirit, he will fetch earth from his grandmother's town from the *bagere* shrine of her father. This is brought home in a small pot and becomes the *bugere* or *bogere* of the *bakologo*. 'It gives the power to the *bakologo*.'

A Seance attended at Tongo: A woman had died from snake-bite, and after she had been buried a soothsayer was brought to her husband's compound to be consulted about the cause of her death. The family of the dead woman was represented by an Elder from her section. The ceremony began by the consultant holding the soothsayer's bag with both hands and saying, '*N' gyi i lugeri ka kye i nor*' (I hold your sides, but not your mouth). The soothsayer then began to rattle (see Fig. 71), and said, '*N ba Yin, n bol i, la i bol i banam, ka ba tana zin, mam mi nireba n zi wa, ka n po mi bay bol ma sere yi na bay de n be, te te*'. (My father's *Yin*, I call you, and you will call your fathers and they will come and sit down. I know these people sitting (here), but I do not know the reason that they call me. You will know what it is; give us).

He then began to sing:

'*Golugdan, Kanbung mwan lang kai bagere. Yi na bay surdan. Kpolebeo saam zeret; mam kpalim la popelimi koy yiri, ma mam kpelim mwee.*' (*Golugdan, Kanbung*, mere supposition is not (proper) soothsaying. You will know the one who is angry. Bad *dawa dawa* seeds spoil soup. I entered a hole [1]; I became infected with misfortune; I was obedient; now I have no house. Mother, I am still rattling). The soothsayer now emptied out the contents of his bag on the ground; the consultant held the end of the wand and went through the customary performance of picking out objects with it, the soothsayer singing the while. The wand seemed to search among the miscellaneous oddments, pounced on the hoof of a cow, on a fragment of a calabash,

[1] He refers to his having worked in the gold mines.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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FIG. 72. Ancestral shrines

[facing p. 356]

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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XXXVII

THE TALENSE (*continued*)

Tɔŋ-nab

THE ceremony I am about to describe was one which I witnessed on Sunday 6 May 1928. It was, perhaps, the most interesting and extraordinary of many curious rites which it has been my privilege to attend in the course of many years of anthropological field-work. Perhaps I regard it thus because particular associations have made it so for me, but I use the word 'extraordinary' advisedly, on account of the almost grotesque blending of the ultra-new with the things which are very old. Flying machines, motor-cars, and the cultivation of cocoa—these seem out of place with pagan gods and naked humanity, but in this ceremony all were mingled, and staged in a setting which must have been familiar to troglodyte man. *Tɔŋ-nab*[1] means literally the Chief of Tɔŋ. Its shrine is perhaps the best known in the country about which I write, and its fame and name have passed beyond the boundaries of the Northern Territories and reached as far down as to the sea-board towns of the Gold Coast.

'Its power is from God (*Na Tin*); its priest is the local *Ten'dan*'; its taboos, which must be observed by all its devotees, include the following avoidances:

(*a*) Clothes, when attending ceremonies in connexion with its cult.
(*b*) *Zia-kom* (corn and water mixed).
(*c*) Beer made from *zia*-corn.
(*d*) *Meya* (water turtle).
(*e*) *Sakur* (tortoise).
(*f*) *Bandog* (crocodile).
(*g*) *Wafo* (python).

An oath may be taken on this god, which runs: *M'po Tɔŋ nab la a zia koom* (I swear by *Tɔŋ nab* and its corn-water).

The home of this deity is in the Tong Hills, that beautiful low range which rises from the compound-scattered millet flats below. There seem to be two rendezvous at which the hundreds of pilgrims, who come from all quarters in the dry seasons to make their vows before this shrine, foregather. After climbing from the plains one enters a rugged

[1] It is also known as *Ta ni* and *Ta pwiga*.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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788 776 778 defile, which winds up the hill-side and then suddenly emerges on a grassy table-land, the home of countless flocks of wild guinea-fowl. There are no villages or compounds on the summit, for, after the punitive expedition many years ago, the people were ordered to come down from the hill-tops and live in the valley.

776 778 The god itself, which is supposed to be an emanation of the Supreme Being, does not, as far as I could discover, possess any shrine beyond a natural temple in the form of a large rock cavern, where the service about to be described was held, and a rock altar, that may or may not have been natural, in front of a second cavity in the rock not very far from the first cave, the entrance to which was hung with filthy old rags. The altar was so smothered in fowls' feathers, which also lay more than ankle deep on the ground, that I could not be certain of its composition.

796 188 On the morning of the ceremony I reached the rocks below the first cave about 8 a.m. and found I was the first arrival. The Chief of Teŋ'zugu and the *Ten'dan'* had not yet appeared. From then onwards, [484] until about 9 a.m., groups of pilgrims began to arrive. To my wonder and astonishment I saw well-dressed Africans, men and women who I later discovered, had motored hundreds of miles from Kumasi, Kwahu, and Mampon. Among these were several of my Ashanti friends of old days, and never shall I forget the look of amazement on their faces at meeting me again in such a place. About 9 a.m. the Chief of Teŋ'zugu and the *Ten'dan'* arrived. The former was a really magnificent-looking man, standing well over six feet and very finely [777] proportioned. He was covered in amulets and fetishes, as was the *Ten'dan'* (see Figs. 73 and 74).

796 I told them (as we had indeed already arranged) that I would like to attend the ceremony and register my wish and make my vows. They asked permission to go forward and make preparation, and soon afterwards I heard the rhythmic clapping of hands, which was faintly audible to us below. All the pilgrims now began to undress. The Coast women disrobed and put on shorts; hats, shoes, white pith helmets, and clothes were piled up and scattered over the boulders (see Fig. 75). We were now called to come forward, and climbed up the rocks until we came to the low entrance of the cave (see Fig. 76). This we were asked to enter backwards. Soon the cave was packed so full that many were sitting on their companions' legs and laps. I know I had a person on each knee. Some one asked me to give my name and what I wanted. I asked Aboya, who was with me, to state the nature of my work; how I was trying to record their ancient customs, that the best of them

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920) 1932
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NAMNAM

XXXVIII

THE NAMNAM

History, Tribal and Clan Organization

101 161 131 THE Namnam (*Anglice* Nabdams) are a tribe numbering 8,063. They inhabit the triangular strip of country bounded on the east by the Red Volta; the Talense lie to the south, the Nankanse on the west. They are among the smallest of the Northern Territory tribes. The people call themselves Namnam (sing. Nabt), the language Nabte, and their country Nabrug. The Namnam call the Kasena, Yuls, and the Nankanse, Gurse; the Kanjagas, Bulse, and the Mampruse and Dagomba, Dagbwan. Specimens of the Nabte language have been given in Chapter III.

103 173 167 563 622 793 The capital town (*teya*) of the head Chief is Nangoot (*Anglice* Nangode). The following history was given me by the head Chief: 'Our first ancestors were called *Loro* and *Zan*. *Zan* is the name of a tree which was this ancestor's *segere*. There was a quarrel about the Chieftainship at Naleruk (Naleregu, near Gambaga) and these ancestors of ours, who were full brothers, left Gambaga and first settled near a place called Gos, in the Kusase country. There was nothing but thorn scrub there, so the place was named Namgoel, "the Chieftainship of thorns". We quarrelled with the Kusase and came here and gave the place its name. When we came here, we found a people who had not any Chiefs, only *Ten'danam* (*Ten'dama*). They spoke the language now called Nabte. Our people followed *Loro*, and *Zan* became the first Chief. He died and is buried here. The people whom we overtook here, we called Namnam. We became their Chiefs. [421] We own the people, the *Ten'danam* own the land. The present *Ten'dan'* is called Biriwanab, his grove (*tengwan*) is known as Dakyirig. The *Ten'dan'* makes sacrifices to the land. *Ten'danam* are like your European doctors. *Zan* was succeeded by *Dyeten*. I think he was *Zan's* son, but it is a long time ago. Each Chief when he dies has a stone which is [778] bathed, rubbed over with shea butter, and kept in the compound of the new Chief in a room. These stones are called *kpwim kuga* (spirit-stones). A sacrifice is made once a year to them. *Dyeten* was succeeded by *Pubuge*. During his time, we heard that the black gun-men (Ashanti?) came with war and reached Akorog (lit. the River). We met them with arrows and had many men taken captive.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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NAMNAM

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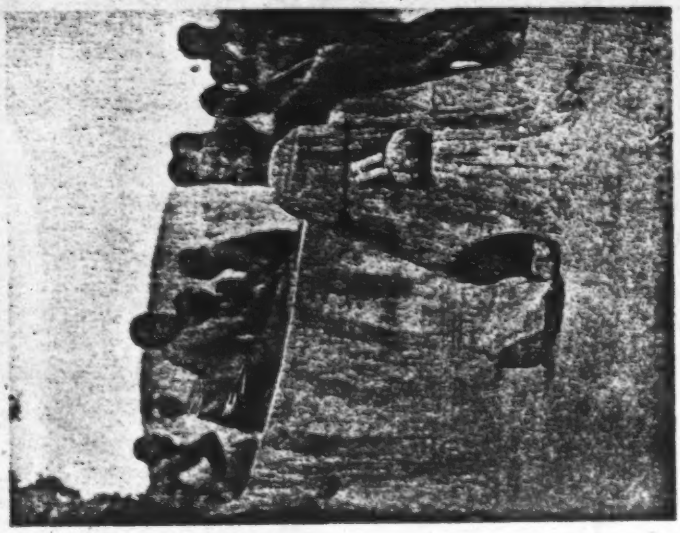

FIG. 83. Namnam children and shrines

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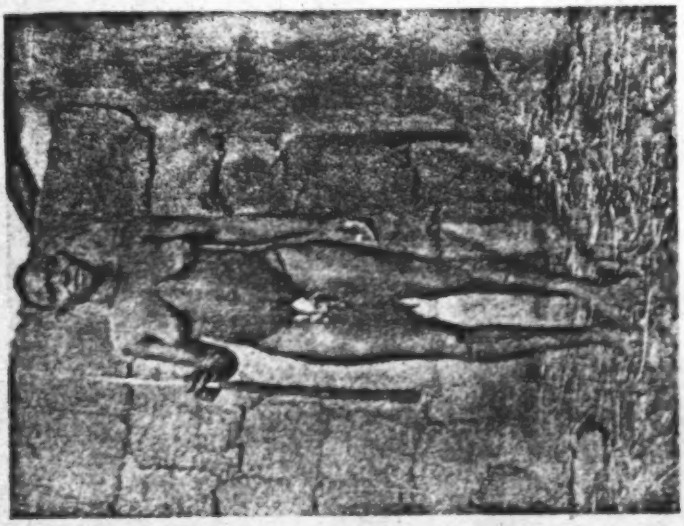

FIG. 82. A Namnam woman

[facing p. 372]

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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NAMNAM

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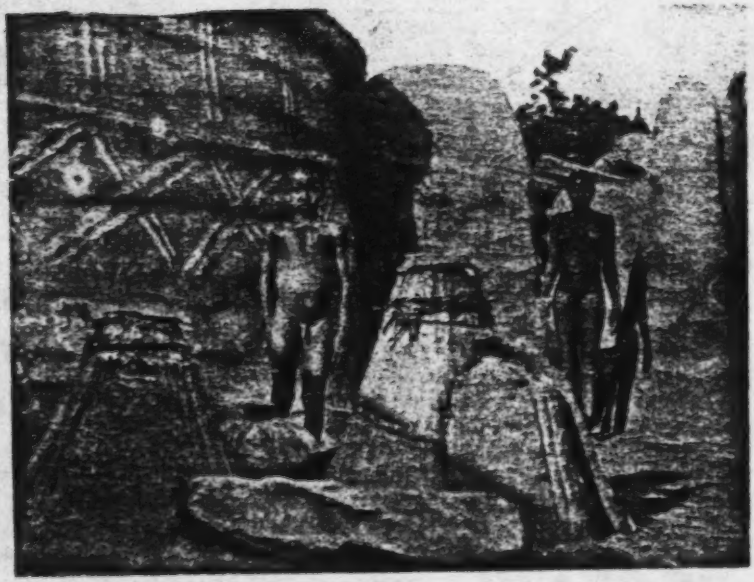

FIGS. 84–5. Namnam shrines

[facing p. 373]

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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Kusase

XL

THE KUSASE (*continued*)

The Family Compound (Yir) *and the Shrines* (Bagr) *which it contains*

351 171 KUSASE compounds (*Ya*, s. *Yir*) are roughly circular in shape, as are the huts which they contain, and are widely scattered like those of the Nankanse, Namnam, Talense, and Kasena, but there is one marked difference which immediately strikes the eye between the Kusase house and those already described. The former are not flat-roofed, but are neatly thatched (see Fig. 86). I now propose to describe a typical Kusase compound in detail. The main entrance which faces west is known as *zan pák nore* (compare Nankane *zenoré*). It leads directly into the main yard which is also the cattle-kraal. The hut immediately on the left of the main entrance (it is sometimes on the right) is called *zoŋ*, pl. *zon*. This hut is nominally where goats and fowls are shut up at night, but it is also used in the wet season as the place where the senior males in the compound sit and talk. When the head of a compound dies, his body is passed through a back doorway in the *zoŋ* hut, instead of being taken through the main entrance. The *zoŋ* (or *zoŋo*) hut seems to figure largely on many such ceremonial occasions. Immediately outside the entrance of the compound is a grass-roofed hut without any walls, known as *suk* in Kusal (*Paka* in Nankane). It contains a shrine called a *Wen bagr* (God's shrine), a circular mound like that seen in Fig. 142 at Tumu among the Isala. Let into the top of this mound is a sheep's horn and a stone. The stone is called *bagr bugr* (the *bugr* of the *baga*). The head of the compound and others sit or recline on this flat top, and in the very hot weather the compound head may sleep on it. It is sacrificed to at the sowing season, at the harvest, and when new beer is made from the first of the crops. 'The *Tenedan*' sacrifices to the land, I, the Chief, sacrifice on this *bagr*.'

[376]

75 Above the doorway of the *zoŋ* hut, through which the corpse of the head of the house is carried to burial, is a black cross (see Fig. 87) to guard against lightning.[1] The same symbol is put on trees in Kusase farms under which the farmer shelters, and for the same reason. At

[1] The same symbol is used among the Isala to protect crops from menstruating women.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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Kusase

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FIG. 86. A Kusase compound

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FIG. 87. The *zoy* hut. Note cross above doorway

[FACING p. 380]

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920) 1932
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Kusase

the doorway of the *zɔŋ* hut stands a post with a large stone on top, and a long stick, bent in the shape of a butterfly net and bound round with leaves. 'I tie up the lightning with this', said my informant. On the ground near the stick is a pot containing 'roots' in a decoction in which the inmates of the compound bathe. 'I also use this *sa-bagr* (lightning shrine) to bring rain, only the lightning I tie.'

All the above may be seen in Fig. 87. On the left of this doorway is a shrine (*ba bagr*) of the spirit 'of the owner of the compound' (an ancestor?) with a cow horn the remains of a past sacrifice hanging on the hut wall above it. To the left of this again is another shrine, that of the 'owner's' mother. Resting on the *ba-bagr* is a pot, called a *ba' bugr*. 'This pot is the shrine of spirits once served by my father and my elder brother. I brought some earth from it (a *bagr*?) and put it in the pot, so I now say when sacrificing, "My father receive these offerings and give to your *bugr*", instead of saying, "My father receive and give to your father". I own my grandfather's *Wen* (Nankane *Yiri*), it can descend (on my death) to whoever he (the spirit) names, but the spirit of our ancestor always goes to the eldest.'

Passing now through the main entrance, between two grass-roofed huts, one of which is the *zɔŋ*, the other called *nos dog* (fowl house), we enter the *zan-pak* (cattle-kraal). The cattle in this case were in charge of Fulani herdsmen who were paid by being given the milk. Inside this yard were two other huts, one for goats and sheep, and one for a horse. Surrounding this yard were four suites of rooms called *dog* (compare Nankane *deo*, pl. *detto*). These *dog* were those of:

(*a*) *Yi-dan's* wife.
(*b*) An unmarried son of the *Yi-dan*.
(*c*) The wife of the *Yi-dan's* younger brother.
(*d*) *Dog* of another of *Yi-dan's* wives.

Inside the main yard is a hut with two doors opposite each other called *zon-tug* (lit. pass straight through), where the women sit. The second doorway of this hut leads right into the yard (*zak*) of one of the *dog* (suites) in which is a shrine called *meŋ Wen* (lit. one's own God), a stone let into a circular mud mound. Beside this shrine is a pot full of roots, called *dendeuk duk* or chameleon's pot. 'I saw two chameleons one day copulating. I was told this is a forbidden thing, so I went to one who had medicine for this and he told me to bring roots. When a child is born to me, I bathe it with water from the roots. Before the *baa* (soothsayer) told me to do this, my children used to die.'

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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Kusase

In a corner beside this *wen bay* is another lightning protector, a long stick with one end bent into a hoop, also a pot containing roots. 'When the rain does not fall, I sacrifice to it, saying, "God and the land, I want to beg water, because corn, beans, and other grain are withering." When it does rain, the person who made the sacrifice has to stand here in the rain for some time and not go into the room. The bent stick is for tying the lightning. Before this sacrifice is made, and before the rain is called, the one who is about to do so, bathes with water in which the roots in the pot are soaked.' This particular *dog*, which is that of the senior wife, contained the following huts:

(*a*) A small hut for boys, sons of the *Yi-dan* called *bis dog* (boys' room).
(*b*) The hut of the senior wife of the *Yi-dan*.
(*c*) A kitchen (*daan*), *daana* in Nankane, unroofed, but behind it is another kitchen, roofed, used in the wet season.

Each *dog* is identical in construction; a sleeping-room, and a dry- and wet-season kitchen surrounded by its own private yard. In the centre of all these women's quarters is a square hut, called *yi-dan-dog* where the head of the compound sleeps. Joined on to the above compound, but with a separate entrance, is another compound, a replica of the first. It is that of the eldest son of the *Yi-dan*. Among the Kusase, as among the Nankanse, an eldest son may 'go out', that is go away and build a new homestead some hundred yards or more from that of his father, or he may have his home adjoining that of his parent but with a separate entrance. The son in this case had done the latter. He possessed his own *Wen bay* (*Yini* in Nankane), not a large flat-topped circular shrine like his father's, but just a small earth mound. This son's compound contained three yards, each containing one living hut and two kitchens. He had a separate grain-store independently of his father. Among the Kusase these grain-stores are not inside, but outside the compounds, differing in this respect from the Nankanse.

The *zɔŋ* hut, already mentioned, also contained the 'medicine pot', set by his slayer, for the spirit of a man who has been murdered or killed in war. This shrine, after the death of its original owner, will be kept in the *zɔŋ* hut (compare the Nankane *tobega*). The following is a description of this custom among the Kusase.

'When one man kills another, he has to get a *yur* (pot). This pot he will "set" and bathe with the medicine which it contains for

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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Kusase

three days. At the end of that time, he will bury the "roots" which the pot contains. Beer is then prepared and more roots sought for, and two pots. A dog and a red cock are sacrificed on one pot; a goat and a white cock on the other. Water, in which the roots have been soaked, is used for making *sagbo* (porridge) in which the livers of the sacrifice are put. The murderer and the head of his family first take some of this food in their left hands and put it in the pots, after which they and any one else who has ever killed a man (in war or otherwise) will partake of the rest of the food. Some of the roots are burned and then powdered and put in beer, and the head of the murderer's family (if he too has ever killed any one) and the murderer drink it. A similar sacrifice is made over these pots twice a year. When the murderer dies, the two pots are placed inside the *zɔŋ* hut, and the son of the murderer will continue to sacrifice on them, but unless he too has killed some one, he may not himself eat of these sacrifices. The following words are spoken when the sacrifice is being made:

'Medicine (*tim*) receive this offering and drive away that person (the murdered man) that he may return to his own compound.' The relations of the murderer have also to bring a goat, a cock, and beer to 'cover up the blood'. This is the work of the *Tenedan*'. He will make the sacrifice and say:

'Children have done something bad (*yele*) and blood has come forth and death resulted. Receive this offering and quench this fire.' The fowl and goat are sacrificed over a hole in the ground and the feathers of the fowl and undigested food in the stomach of the goat are buried in the hole. The whole of the sacrifice must be eaten at the spot where it is made. A child's bow and arrow is broken and placed in the same hole with the words, 'This is the bow and arrow which has caused the death; we have broken it; do not permit it to come out'.

'A man is very proud to have killed another in war, but not to have murdered one.'

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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XLI

THE KUSASE (*continued*)

Property and Inheritance. Rites de Passage

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428 IF the heir, who is the deceased's next eldest brother, is a *mey dan pud sob* (a greedy person) he will come, almost immediately, after the final funeral custom, to see about the division of the deceased's property.[1] He will tell the eldest son to produce all his late father's cowries. These the heir shares out among the sons, giving the eldest son most, because he is the one who will sacrifice to his father. The heir also takes some, but less than he gives to the eldest son. The eldest son accounts to the heir for all the cattle, sheep, horses, goats, donkeys, fowls, and guinea-fowls, which had belonged to the deceased, but once having done so, these remain under the care of the son, the heir drawing on them from time to time when he needs any. Though these remain in charge of the son, he has not any right to sell or lend any of them, and if asked to do so, he will say, "No, they belong to my 'father' ". The heir has already become head of his own compound, so he does not inherit the compound of the deceased. The deceased's eldest son will return to it and all his younger brothers who are married will quit, leaving only his unmarried brothers.'

Inheritance of Farms: 'The eldest son of the deceased takes the *saman* farm (near the compound), and his brothers who are "going out" take the *put* (bush farms). The heir has his own *saman* and does not take any farm of the deceased. Standing crops and crops in the grain-store are divided among those who had helped the deceased to work on his farm, but widows of the deceased who do not marry clansmen do not get any of this.'

Clothes, Hoes, Axes, &c.: 'The day the heir comes to see the property, he will see all these things, but will leave everything with the son.'

[778] *Shrines*: 'The eldest son will take his father's spirit, building a *bay* (shrine) for it; the heir will take the shrine of the deceased's father to his own compound and all family ancestral shrines and family ancestral "medicine". All personal "medicine" belonging to the deceased is taken by the son.'

The Leather Bag (*Kolog*): 'This is taken by the eldest brother of the

[1] Among the Nankanse, the time this is done is from two to five months after the final funeral.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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of the head of the compound will, one evening, tell the bride to take fire (a faggot) to the bridegroom's hut in order that she may have light 'to sweep the floor', and she will add, 'you need not return'. Next morning people will know that the girl is So-and-so's wife. (I asked my informant if the youth for whom this marriage had been arranged knew all about it. He replied: 'The father of the youth would always be performing small services for his *dem* (in-laws), such, for example, as sending them fire-wood. The future bridegroom would be used as a messenger on such occasions and in this manner would get to know his future wife.') A man's senior 'father' is responsible for finding the cows for the bride-price (*sul*). If a man wants a second or third wife, he will help his father by giving some of his own cows, if he has got any by his own labours. 'If your father is too poor and your mother's brother is a rich man, he may pay for the cows for your wife, but that becomes a debt, for if you do not pay him back, he will claim your children after your death. You will pay him back by using the cows you receive for your own daughter.'

'A son-in-law will work on his *dem-pok's* ground-nut farm (*suma-pog*) once a year and help her in the sowing and harvest, and also assist his father-in-law in building. He will do all this until his wife bears him a child and then cease doing so, because then he will be looking out for a new wife and have then to work for these new in-laws. Every new harvest he will take new beer (*da'-palem*) and a guinea-fowl and go with his wife to visit his parents-in-law. On this occasion, the wife becomes like a man, by virtue of her husband, and gives the guinea-fowl as an offering to her father's spirit, or if he is alive, to his *Wen* (*Yini* shrine). If she were an unmarried girl at home, she could not do so. A son-in-law attends his parents-in-law's funeral, taking a sheep and goat and beer. He will also attend a brother-in-law's funeral taking a pot of beer "to pour on the grave" (*se yaug*). A son-in-law will also assist in digging a parent-in-law's grave, and even sleep at his village and resume digging next morning and dig out all the stones. When we dig a grave and come down to rock, we generally place an egg there, and fill in the hole, but when a man has many sons-in-law they will dig up the rock. As long as a man's wife has not borne a child, the son-in-law must send his mother-in-law five baskets of grain each new harvest. He stops doing so when she has a child, for after that they will at once demand payment of the *sul* (bride-price).'

'A man must respect his parents-in-law; if he offends them, he

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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and these are left on the grave. The iron heads of the hoes are washed in water containing *grunyoa* grass (*nagwa* in Nankane, used to fumigate everything which has had contact with the dead). If the deceased had a *bakolog* (soothsaying shrine) it is fumigated with the grass.

Driving the Souls of the Living from Graves: 'Some *bayas* (sextons) can see souls (*sis*) in graves. When they do so, they will take a potsherd and put peppers and tobacco on it and set them on fire and place them in the open grave in order that the soul may be driven out.'

This exhausts the information which I obtained while living with the Kusase,[1] whom I found a charming and delightful people. I pass on in my next chapter to describe the Builsa, whom Europeans know better as the 'Kanjaga'.

[1] The Kusase do not circumcise, nor do their women practise incision, unless influenced by Mampruse connexions, e.g. at Bawku. They file the teeth. The women pierce the lower lip only.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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all of us (i.e. those of alleged slave descent as well). Who are you to decide who is or is not to be allowed to take part in sacrifices to him?' 618x 769

Crest-fallen, the supporters of the *status quo ante* begged the chief's pardon. It was a victory for the forces of community integration and a personal triumph for the chief over the cleavages due to the strict application of the canon of agnatic descent.

One of the chief's most intimate and influential elders commented to me afterwards, cautiously but with a hint of regret, that soon it would become impossible to withhold the chiefship from the accessory lineages now that they had practically won the right to participate in the most esoteric ritual cult of the true agnatic sodality. But the battle for consolidation is not yet over. The presence of some members of accessory lineages at the sacrifices was not part of a deliberate scheme to gain equality of status but was an unthinking reaction to the whole situation—the unusual publicity of the ceremony, its emphasis on an all-embracing solidarity of the whole sub-clan, and the chief's insistence on interpreting this to mean all the people of Tongo and not only those of true agnatic descent from Mosuor. Some elders of the accessory lineages were as dubious about the affair as some of the elders of authentic lineages. To take part in sacrifices from which one's fathers and grandfathers (*banam ni yaanam*) had been rigidly excluded might well be an offence against one's own ancestors, even though the chief had taken the responsibility on himself. Members of accessory lineages do not resent their disfranchisement as a disability to be fought against, but accept it as part of the fixed order of society validated by the whole religious system. 618x

Thus these elders of the accessory lineages will not take it for granted that they now have the same rights as the authentic lineages. They are aware, also, that the occurrence has left behind a good deal of hidden resentment which may, at some future crisis, precipitate a violent reaction against the inclusion of accessory lineages in the ritual brotherhood of Mosuor biis. The forces of integration are strong at Tongo; but the genealogical cleavages in its lineage structure are so fundamental that this historic sacrifice may yet prove to be a warning against their abrogation rather than a precedent for it.

This episode brought out more vividly than anything I had previously encountered the significance of the ancestral graves and shrines, in particular of Mosuor's *bəyar*, as the focus of the sub-clan's unity and the symbol of its corporate identity; for it was obvious that until they were able to participate on equal terms in sacrifices to this *bəyar*, the accessory lineages would not be regarded as, or feel themselves to be, completely absorbed by the authentic lineages. 618x 778

Tongo, we may conclude, though it is more closely knit than Sie, is also an open system in its lineage structure; and this is equally true of Yamələg and Biuk. This peculiarity of the clan organization is more precisely apparent in the asymmetrical linkages of the component lineages of the different sub-clans of Mosuor biis. It is evident from our analysis that the ties of clanship summarily posited by the natives as linking *all* of Tongo with *all* of Sie, *all* of Yamələg, and *all* of Biuk, measured by the strict canon of agnatic descent as well as by the critical norms of clanship, 618x 184

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(*a*) Elders of a Maximal Lineage assemble to sacrifice to their Founder.

The Maximal Lineage is a corporate unit: The elders of a maximal lineage, representing all its component segments, assemble to perform a sacrifice on the grave of one of their founding ancestors. Note that (a) only men are present; (b) the members of each segment sit together; (c) the close-packed form of the group, an index of the strong sense of lineage solidarity in such situations.

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(*b*) Prayer preceding Sacrifice to Clan Founder.

An episode in the great sacrifice to Mosuor and the other founding ancestors, at Tongo, in 1936. Men of the sub-clan assembled at Mosuor's grave (stones in foreground) and tree shrine (baobab tree). The photograph was taken as the prayer preceding the sacrifice was being offered.

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the Yakɔradɛm ('the people of the old homes') mingle with those of their Tongo neighbours and spread out irregularly into what is properly Ba'ari. The next block of homesteads, separated from them by a stone's throw and known as the Kpaɣara-yaɣardɛm ('the people of the Kpaɣara side'), so named after a sacred pool in their midst, abuts on the fields of other Tongo neighbours and straggles over into the part occupied by the third maximal lineage. These, the Yapaasdɛm ('the people of the new homesteads'), have Zoo homesteads as their neighbours on one side and somewhat more distantly Ba'ari neighbours on the other. By the criteria of clanship with which we have become familiar, Zubiuŋ forms a single clan; the three maximal lineages act together as a unit in all secular and religious affairs of common interest.

Outsiders regard Zubiuŋ as a single unit, like Tongo or Zoo, and the relations of its constituent maximal lineages to one another are organized on the plan of a single maximal lineage of three segments. Thus, the mortuary rites or funeral ceremonies of an important member of any one of these lineages cannot be carried out without the presence and collaboration of representatives of the other two lineages. They have the reciprocal privileges and obligations of close clan *sunzɔp* in relation to one another. They speak of one another as kinsmen by consanguinity (*dɔɣam*).

Nevertheless, it is generally known that the three segments of Zubiuŋ are of diverse origin. The Yakɔradɛm have a status senior to the others. According to the myth, which has already been recorded, their founding ancestor (*yaab*) was a 'brother' of the primordial Gbizug tɛndaana. They were the first to settle at Zubiuŋ. The Kpaɣara-yaɣardɛm, who are next in order of seniority, claim that their line was founded by immigrants who accompanied Mosuor as his Gbandaat—a ceremonial office which is still their exclusive prerogative in relation to the Chief of Tongo. The Yapaasdɛm are said to be offshoots of the other two lineages, and are therefore the most junior. The relative status of the three lineages is shown in all their corporate activities. Thus, if they make a joint sacrifice and the sacrificial animal is provided by either of the senior lineages, the Yapaasdɛm receive only a shoulder (that is, a junior portion) as their rightful share, whereas the other lineages receive the legs (the senior portions). The two senior lineages are relatively equal in status compared with Yapaas.

Overlooking this diversity of origin, the people of Zubiuŋ say: 'We have become consanguineous kin (*ti leeba dɔɣam*).' One focus of their unity and corporate identity as a clan is their External (*yɛŋha*) *Bɔɣar*, Duunkpalɔg, a sacred grove whose mystical powers are renowned and respected far beyond the borders of Taleland. Duunkpalɔg is the shrine of all the ancestors of all three maximal lineages. 'All our ancestors are there (*ti yaanam waabi be nɛŋha*)', is the formula used by the natives to define this shrine. Any ritual event which involves a sacrifice at Duunkpalɔg requires the presence of all three lineages, each represented by its head (*kpeem*), and he should be accompanied by the head of each constituent segment of his lineage and by any other of its mature male members who are able to come. The ideological dominance of

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618 778 Duunkpalɔg in the corporate life of Zubiuŋ can be judged from the frequency of the personal name Duun. This name is given to every child placed under the spiritual guardianship of this *Bɔyar*. There is not a [551] single family in Zubiuŋ without at least one child named Duun.

618 764 All the reciprocal duties and privileges of the three maximal lineages testify to the unity of Zubiuŋ as a clan. To cite funerals again, when a death occurs in one of the lineages it is the duty of the representatives of the other two to conduct the main rites and to give general help and supervision, according to the maxim '*sunzɔp m-maan yɛla*—brother-lineages look after one's (ceremonial) affairs'. At the funeral ceremonies of the head of one of the maximal lineages it is obligatory for the other two maximal lineages to be represented by their heads, through whom they must send the prescribed food contributions. In return for their services and support these two maximal lineages are entitled to receive prescribed portions of the animals slaughtered in honour of the deceased, and of the beer and cooked food distributed at the funeral.

Ritual Differentiation and Integration of Zubiuŋ

618 778 794 At the same time, each maximal lineage has a large and jealously guarded measure of autonomy relative to its two *sunzɔ* lineages. This is most conspicuously embodied in the ritual office of tɛndaana (Master, or Custodian, of the Earth). Each of the three lineages has its own tɛndaana-ship, held by the head (*kpeem*) of the lineage. This office is primarily associated with the cult of the Earth (*tɛŋ*) in its mystical aspect, whose shrines (*tɔŋgbana*) are the sacred spots found in profusion throughout the Mole-Dagbane culture area. An Earth shrine (*tɔŋgban*) may be a grove of trees, a pool, a stream, a pile of boulders, a single tree, or merely a small bare patch in the midst of cultivated fields. In the settled parts of Taleland half a mile's walk along any foot-path takes one past two or three *tɔŋgbana*, so numerous are they.

778 782 *Tɔŋgbana* do not all rank equally, though all are equally the shrines of the Earth. At Zubiuŋ the most important *tɔŋgbana* come under the joint custody of all three maximal lineages. On important ceremonial occasions in which the clan acts as a corporate unit, such as the installation of a new tɛndaana, all three tɛndaanas and their elders assemble to perform sacrifices at these *tɔŋgbana*. One of these, Zukɔk, is supreme over all the Earth shrines of Zubiuŋ. It symbolizes the Land of Zubiuŋ (*Zubiuŋ tɛŋ*), the local subdivision of the Earth-as-a-whole in its mystical aspect, with which Zubiuŋ is directly connected. This is another focus of clan unity.

618 182 771 We shall later elucidate more fully the complex relationship of these two religious foci of clan unity among the Talis. It must suffice to say that, at Zubiuŋ, Duunkpalɔg, the *Bɔyar*, and Zukɔk, symbolizing the Earth, are mystically coupled together but not identical. In doctrine and in rite they form the polar principles of a single religious system. Together they constitute the axis, as it were, around which the religious ideas and values of the natives are constructed. In relation to the structure of lineage and clan *Bɔyar* and *tɛŋ* work as complementary values and sanctions. When either is the centre of a rite or ceremony, homage is paid to the other as well. In all corporate ceremonies, such as those accompany-

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PLATE VI

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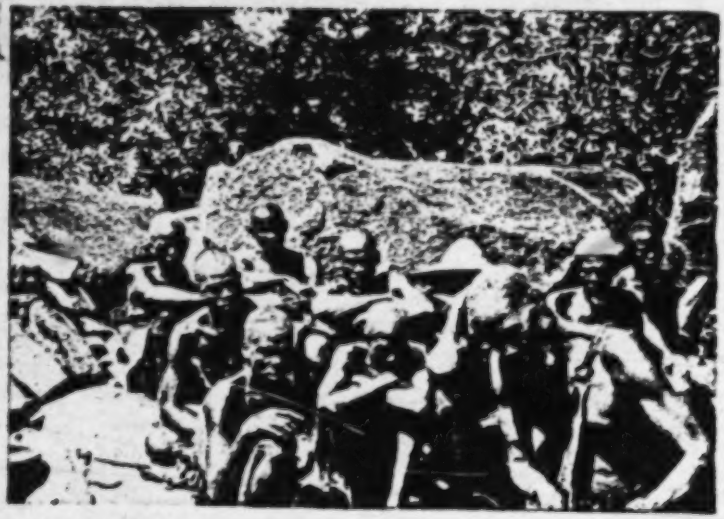

(*a*) Ritual collaboration among the Hill Talis: A sacrifice at the External *Bɔyar* of which Kpata'ardcm are the principal custodians. Representatives of Gundaat, Samiit, Sakpee are present while the head of Kpata'ar performs the sacrifice.

(*b*) A sacrifice at the Earth Shrine, Doo, of which Kpata'ardcm are the principal custodians. Representatives of Kpata'ar, Tamboog, Degal, and Bunkiuk are present on this occasion.

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clanship. But on the day of the harvest festival at Wakii, they send an offering of a fowl and flour to be added to the sacrifices which will be made at the External *Bɔyar* of Wakii.

This pattern of ritual collaboration between the constituent segments of the clan is common in most of the other Namoo clans. Where a clan consists of one or more Namoo lineages united with one or more non-Namoo lineages, there is usually no common ritual cult, as, for example, at Zoo. The component lineages of such clans might more appropriately be considered as locally contiguous linked lineages.

Ritual collaboration in Namoo clans differs in substance though not in form from the ritual collaboration found in the clans of the Talis, as will be clearer shortly. The Namoos lack the elaborate cult of the External *Bɔyar* associated with the Great Festivals, and most of their clans are built up round a dominant maximal lineage. In Namoo clans the cult of the founding ancestor corresponds to the cult of the *dugni bɔyar* among the Talis—that is, the cult of the founding ancestor of a constituent maximal lineage of a composite clan. Thus, unlike the External *Bɔyar* of the Talis, a Namoo clan *bɔyar* is kept at the house of the segment head in whose custody it is, in the same way as the particular lineage *bɔyar* of one of the component lineages of a Talis clan. (The *bɔyar* itself consists of one or two small pots (*kpatarəg*) inside a shallow platter-like vessel made by chipping off the bottom half of a large pottery basin (*sar*), and covered with another piece of pottery. Like all ritual shrines, it is usually indescribably grimy with the remains of many sacrifices.)

As a general rule, ties of ritual collaboration between corporate units in Taleland always imply the existence of other structural ties. Conversely, all significant ties which define the place of a corporate unit in the whole social system tend to be mirrored in some form of ritual collaboration. This principle is of special significance for the Talis and their congeners.

Ritual Collaboration among the Talis: The External Bɔyar and the Earth

A. *Zubiuŋ*. We have noted that the unity of a clan such as Zubiuŋ becomes explicit in the cult of their *Bɔyar*, Duunkpaləg, the common shrine of all the ancestors of its constituent maximal lineages, and in the cult of the Earth. To sacrifice together here means to participate equally in the cults of the *Bɔyar* and of the Earth, and is an index of the closest ties of clanship. Among the people of Zubiuŋ the synthesis of ritual collaboration with the clan structure is relatively simple, and is analogous to what is found among their Namoo neighbours. The three constituent maximal lineages are jointly and equally responsible for the custody and cult of their focal ancestor shrine, the Duunkpaləg *Bɔyar*. It is described as an External *Bɔyar* (*yɛŋha bɔyar*). It is 'outside' in the literal sense of being out-of-doors, in the open, and 'outside' also in the social sense of not being bound exclusively to any one of the three constituent lineages of the clan.

But each lineage, as we have previously noted, also has its *dugni bɔyar*, 'the *bɔyar* of the room'. (The term 'room', *dug*, implies that each maximal lineage has a segmentary relationship with the other maximal lineages similar to that of the co-ordinate segments of a single lineage.) The *dugni*

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bɔyar, again, is both literally and socially the domestic replica of the External *Bɔyar*. It is kept at the homestead of the lineage head, and it symbolizes the particular ancestors of that lineage only. Only that particular lineage offers sacrifices through its head to its *dugni bɔyar*, that is, to its own ancestors; all three lineages meet at Duunkpalǝg in ritual homage to all their ancestors. (The *dugni bɔyar* of a Zubiuŋ lineage, as among all the Talis, consists of two small pots embedded in a projecting bulge of the outside wall of the house, together with other sacred paraphernalia, and, as usual, smeared all over with the dried flour, blood, and feathers of many sacrifices.)

The two aspects of the *Bɔyar* cult mark the two poles of clan structure—on the one hand, the relative autonomy of the constituent lineages of the clan; on the other, the unity and the solidarity of the clan, synthesizing these relative autonomies in a wider field of social organization, but according to the same principles of structure that operate to constitute these relatively autonomous units. Though less explicitly, the same pattern of ritual collaboration obtains at Zubiuŋ with respect to the cult of the Earth.

The lineages of other clans with which Zubiuŋ has ties of clanship never participate in sacrifices at Duunkpalǝg or at any of the Zubiuŋ Earth shrines. A linked lineage has ritual ties only with the Zubiuŋ maximal lineage to which it is directly linked, but these ties are very elastic. Thus, in situations in which the corporate identity of one of the constituent maximal lineages of Zubiuŋ is emphasized—for example, in the ceremonies of inducting a new tɛndaana into his office, or in the funeral rites of a deceased tɛndaana—members of the linked lineages of that group are nominally obliged to participate in the exoteric phases of the ceremonies. This obligation, however, is not so rigorous as in the case of the other Zubiuŋ lineages.

B. *Ba'ari*. The pattern of ritual collaboration between the component units of Ba'ari is slightly different. There the focal shrine of the clan is the principal sacred grove (*tɔŋgban*) consecrated to the Earth, Ba'at Da'a. Important sacrifices there, particularly during the Great Festivals, require the presence of all the constituent lineages of Ba'ari, including the accessory lineages. This is not regarded as inconsistent with the fact that one of the attached lineages, Ba'at-Guŋ, is permitted to intermarry with two of the other lineages, though otherwise exercising the rights and obligations of close *sunzɔp*. Ba'ari lacks the cult of the External *Bɔyar*, and the lineage (*dugni*) *bɔyar* of each of its constituent lineages is associated with Ba'at Da'a, which doubles the functions of an External *Bɔyar* and a focal *tɔŋgban*. Ba'at Da'a has, in fact, two ritual aspects. In its esoteric aspect it is the ideological pivot around which the clan revolves. Only the clan takes part in the cult associated with this aspect; linked lineages of other clans have no share in it. It also has an exoteric aspect connected with certain phases of the cycle of the Great Festivals. Again, linked lineages take no part in the ritual that defines this aspect. But the people of Gbizug have a formal role in these rites, and so have Wakii and Yayazuor, who are *sunzɔp*-by-courtesy. These clans participate, not in virtue of ties of clanship with Ba'ari, but by reason of their ritual bonds. They have a

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general ritual bond in the tendaanaship and the special ritual relationship with the Earth which this office imposes on a group that has the prerogative of it, and they have a specific ritual bond that comes into action during the Great Festivals.

At the level of these ritual relations, Ba'ari, Gbizug, Wakii, and Yayazuor are brethren (*mabiis*) to one another. Gbizug, it will be remembered, is also linked to Ba'ari by clanship ties; through it, therefore, the scheme of linkage by clanship ties is interlocked with the scheme of linkage through ritual ties; and the myth in which the social relations of Gbizug and Ba'at-Sakpar are symbolically pictured expresses this double-sided interdependence. As will be clearer presently, the organization of ritual ties between corporate units, like that of clanship ties, follows the field principle. Working at different levels of the social structure in the service of different interests, the two systems are interlocked but not congruent. They reinforce each other by counterbalancing each other; and both kinds of ties are translated into the basic idiom of Tale social relations, the idiom of genealogical connexion.

C. *Gbizug.* We shall see this more clearly if we consider the role of Gbizug in this configuration. As we have noted before, linked maximal lineages have the right to participate in exoteric ceremonies (such as funeral ceremonies) in which the corporate identity of the particular Ba'ari lineage with which they have clanship ties emerges; but clanship ties do not give them the right to take part in the religious cults in which the corporate unity and identity of the whole clan emerges. They have no bonds with the clan as a whole, but only with the relatively autonomous segments of the clan. Gbizug, however, is bound to a segment of the clan by clanship ties and to the whole clan by ritual ties, and the bridge between these two sets of ties is Ba'at-Sakpar. Gbizug has no loyalties to the rest of Ba'ari, other than Ba'at-Sakpar, on the level of clanship; in this respect Gbizug is a threat to the stability of Ba'at-Sakpar's field of clanship. The latter's loyalties to Gbizug might in certain circumstances clash with its loyalties to the rest of Ba'ari. Compromise and adjustment are made possible by the scheme of ritual ties. The partly independent fields of clanship of Gbizug and Ba'at-Sakpar are adjusted to one another at a different level of social organization. In the frame of ritual relations, Gbizug is, as it were, assimilated to the whole clan of Ba'ari, drawn into the field of clanship of Ba'at-Sakpar.

It follows that on this plane of ritual relations Gbeog and Zubiun-Yakora are indirectly bound to the whole of Ba'ari, for Gbizug represents its whole field of clanship in its corporate ritual relationship with Ba'ari. At a further remove Zubiun Yakora is the bridge between the whole of Zubiun and the whole of Ba'ari through Gbizug; and this rule extends, by a series of removes, to all the Talis.

The Underlying Principles of Ritual Collaboration

We must try to see clearly the principles underlying this bewildering hierarchy of social ties between corporate units in Taleland. It is as difficult to state this principle simply and precisely as it was for the writer to elicit it from the confusing and, at first sight, inconsistent welter of

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elaboration. Among them the cult of the External *Bɔyar*,[1] homologous though it is in function and doctrine with its Zubiun counterpart, includes peculiar esoteric elements lacking in the latter. This cult is the pivot of their Harvest Festival, *Bɔyaraam*, which takes its name from the External *Bɔyar*, of which it is essentially a sacrament. The sacrament includes an initiation cult, by which the males are brought into the *Bɔyar* sodality and bound to its obligations and observances.

Each *Bɔyar* has a number of ritual functionaries who hold office by virtue of being the heads of the maximal lineages in which these ritual offices are vested. As a rule a particular maximal lineage has the exclusive ownership of one office, and the ritual offices connected with a particular *Bɔyar* are distributed among all or most of the corporate units (maximal lineages) that owe allegiance to that *Bɔyar*. They usually include maximal lineages of a single clan, maximal lineages of other clans linked to them by ties of clanship, and territorially adjacent maximal lineages not related to them by clanship.

The cult of the Earth (*Tɛŋ*), again, is localized at a number of sacred spots, the most exalted of which are the foci of ritual association and collaboration between groups of clans and maximal lineages *not* connected by clanship. As in the *Bɔyar* cult, the ritual roles are distributed among the heads of the corporate units owing allegiance to a particular Earth shrine. Each maximal lineage has, in addition, its private lineage *bɔyar*, the symbolic seat of its own ancestors, as well as the special shrine that symbolizes and is bound up with the ritual office vested in that lineage.

Though each ritual office of a particular *Bɔyar* or *Tɛŋ* congregation is vested in one maximal lineage, the other member-units of the congregation have an interest in that office. There are certain occasions when all the ritual functionaries must be present in order that the rites of worship may be performed. This is the case during the Great Festivals, and the concrete manifestation of this principle is the common sacrament partaken of in the rites at the *Bɔyar* and the *Tɛŋ*.

Again, there is an order of seniority among the ritual functionaries of a *Bɔyar* or *Tɛŋ*. The most senior is the chief custodian of that shrine. Members of his lineage have a private relationship with the shrine, in addition to their public duties in connexion with it. They may, through him, bring private sacrifices to it in misfortune, or out of gratitude. But this functionary is also the direct intermediary between the congregation and the shrine. The priestly duties of its cult fall mainly on him. He is obliged to preside at all rites in which the whole congregation takes part, and the lineages of the other functionaries are dependent on him for the proper performance of the rites. This does not give him political power over them, for he is only *primus inter pares*, but it enhances the prestige of his office and makes it the pivot of the whole constellation. Thus all the functionaries and their respective lineages have a particular interest in the senior, pivotal office.

Furthermore, the installation of a ritual functionary in his office is

[1] For the sake of clarity whenever reference is made to an external *Bɔyar*, a capital *B* will be used; when any other kind of *bɔyar* is referred to a lower-case *b* will be used.

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fore, two intersecting fields of politico-ritual relations so adjusted that its loyalties to the other component lineages of one field are counterbalanced by its loyalties to the component lineages of the other field. Both sets of politico-ritual loyalties are correlated with the same sort of social interests, symbolized in a single system of religious concepts and values. Their organization in two complementary configurations around polar symbols checks the dangers of disruptive conflicts that might spring from them. Thus the ties of clanship are regrouped around another axis of social integration. Every maximal lineage is a bridge between a *Bɔyar* congregation and a *Tɛŋ* congregation. In most cases, in fact, the component lineages of a particular *Tɛŋ* congregation all belong to, and in that context represent, different *Bɔyar* congregations, and vice versa. This is the fundamental mechanism of the remarkable politico-ritual equilibrium found among the Talis.

The Network of Ritual Ties between Talis Clans

This network of public ritual ties runs through all the Talis clans. Indeed, as we have mentioned before, in the context of the cycle of the Great Festivals, it embraces both Talis and Namoos in the Tongo district, the clans of the Sie district, and a number of adjacent clans beyond the borders of Taleland. Confining ourselves to the Talis only, we find among them an organization of ritual relations analogous in pattern to the network of clanship ties. Adjacent maximal lineages have fields of ritual relations that overlap each other. They are combined thus into a single system of interwoven chains of ritual ties which spread across all the Talis. The ritual field of each maximal lineage corresponds to the parochial aspects of the *Bɔyar* and the Earth cult, the all-embracing network to their universal aspect.

To illustrate this analysis let us take up again the chain of ritual ties that begins at Ba'ari and follow out its further extension from Gbizug to Tɛnzugu. Gbizug and Gbeog, it will be recollected, are segments of a single clan. The ritual focus of their clan unity is the supreme Earth shrine (*tɔŋgban*) at Gbizug. There the elders of the two segments are obliged to assemble for sacrifice at certain times, notably at certain phases of the Festival cycle and when the funeral ceremonies or the investiture rites of a Gbizug tendaana are performed. The Gbizug tendaana and the Gbeog tendaana install each other in office. But the supreme Earth shrine at Gbizug is in the sole custody of the Gbizug tendaana. The people of Gbeog have their own focal *tɔŋgban*, the custody of which is vested in the Gbeog tendaana, and the people of Gbizug have no ritual connexion with this *tɔŋgban*. The Gbeogdem, again, also practise the cult of the External *Bɔyar* in the manner of the Hill clans. Gbizugdem have nothing to do with this cult. In fact they speak of it with contempt and hold aloof from it as if it were a perversion, even though their own clansmen practise it. 'Our ancestors did not take part in that', they say.

In terms of the Earth cult Gbeog comes into the field of ritual relations of Gbizug. Though it is the closest and most important, it is not the sole component segment of that field. Other adjacent maximal lineages form a part of it. Next to their supreme *tɔŋgban* the most sacred lineage shrine

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of the people of Gbizug is the grave of their primordial ancestor, Tɛndaan Gɛnɔt. This grave, situated on the reputed house-site of Tɛndaan Gɛnɔt, is in the sole custody of Gbizug, and is associated with the tɛndaanaship, therefore with the Earth cult. But whenever a new Gbizug tɛndaana is installed, representatives of Gbeog, Ba'at-Sakpar, and Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra must be present at the rites performed at Gɛnɔt's grave. This is a matter of right and duty, subsumed under the rights and duties of their clanship ties and validated by the myth of the primordial tɛndaanas. But one segment of Wakii must also be represented at these rites, not in virtue of clanship ties but of the kinship (*mabiirɔt*) in the figurative sense that is held to prevail between all tɛndaana clans. It is effective in this case because of the proximity and the ritual collaboration in the Great Festivals of Wakii and Gbizug.

It is significant that the people of Soog, despite their clanship ties with Gbizug, do not come into the field of its ritual relations. On the surface this appears to be correlated with their spatial separation from Gbizug. It is only by their attendance at the exoteric ceremonies that accompany the installation or funeral of a Gbizug tɛndaana, and by the rights to special portions of meat and beer that they can exercise on these occasions, that the clanship ties between Soog and Gbizug impinge on the latter's field of ritual relations.

On the other hand, the clanship ties of Soog with Gbeog have a ritual embodiment in the cult of the External *Bɔɣar*. All the segments of Gbeog practise this cult; but some of them owe allegiance to the *Bɔɣar* of which the people of Soog are the senior custodians, and the others have a separate *Bɔɣar* of their own. Soog and Gbeog do not have a common Earth shrine. In terms of the Earth cult Gbeog forms one united community and Soog another.

In this intricate tissue of ritual relations we see again, as at Ba'ari, the interweaving of clanship ties, neighbourhood ties, and ties of ritual interdependence *per se*, forming syntheses of politico-ritual relations at a higher level than those that are possible in terms of any one of these categories. This interweaving can be seen at any of the ceremonies in which a particular field of ritual relations is actualized. It is particularly clear among the Tɛnzugu clans, where we can see, more plainly than at Gbizug or Ba'ari, how it is produced by the counterbalancing of ritual ties against clanship and local cleavages, and of ritual ties of one sort against those of another sort.

Soog has a specific ritual tie with one major segment of Sakpee, the head of which installs the senior ritual functionary of the Soog External *Bɔɣar*. This segment of Sakpee, Sakpee I, has its own *Bɔɣar*. But it unites with the other major segment, Sakpee II, in the worship of a common Earth shrine, the custody of which is vested in Sakpee II; and Sakpee II owes allegiance to the External *Bɔɣar* Bona'ab, the senior custodian of which is the head of Kpata'ar. Soog, though linked by clanship ties with Kpata'ar, has no direct ritual connexions with it. Their fields of ritual relations overlap at Sakpee, which forms the bridge between them at this level.

Kpata'ar provides a typical instance of the structure of the ritual fields

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other lineages. Though the norms of clanship and the social bonds that define the clan are an extension of those that hold within the lineage, they mark out a wider field of social relations for the individual. It is through his clanship ties that the individual gets bound up with the social order as a whole; through them he becomes a member of the wider community of the Hill Talis, which in turn forms part of the yet wider and looser community, the Tallensi in general. Through clan membership one belongs to a community, defined not by specific rights and duties based on the spiritual jurisdiction of one's own ancestors, but principally by common values and common ritual interests. Within the lineage the social personality of the individual is an important factor of his behaviour and of the behaviour of others towards him. Sex, age, and status are significant. In relations between lineages the social personality of the individual fades into the background. It is submerged in the corporate unity of the lineage.

Totems, Clanship, and External Bɔɣar

The social bonds of clanship, like those of the lineage, derive their validity from the ancestors. But it is now not a question of a particular known line of ancestry, but of the ancestors in general; and among the Hill Talis these are associated with the External *Bɔɣar*.

The External *Bɔɣar* is an elaboration of the lineage *bɔɣar*, parallel to the elaboration of the lineage structure into the structure of the clan and the network of clanship. It is the seat of all the ancestors of the clans and lineages that make up its congregation. As we have previously learnt, each External *Bɔɣar* is the pivot of a group of structurally connected clans and lineages, and at the same time the local embodiment of a single cult embracing all the Hill Talis. Thus the cult of the External *Bɔɣar* maintains ritually sanctioned social bonds between a particular group of maximal lineages, and at the same time symbolizes the fundamental common values of all the Hill Talis. It is the quintessence of the social identity of the Hill Talis. Hence, they say that when a boy has been initiated into this cult, 'he at length knows (what it means to be) a Talɔŋ (*u pana baŋ Talɔŋ*)'. The esoteric significance of the fact of being a Talɔŋ has been revealed to the boy. Before that he was a 'woman', a 'child'; now 'he has become an elder'. These terms are used metaphorically to indicate the boy's transformation from a person who was merely a member of the lineage by birth into a full social member of the clan and the wider community.

The *Bɔɣar* is the apex of the whole ancestor cult of the Talis. It symbolizes the idea of the ancestors in general, the concept of ancestry, one might say, in contrast to the notion of a particular named line of ancestors. Thus, the Hill Talis speak of the External *Bɔɣar*, and often invoke it in ritual, as *Yaab*, Ancestor, that is, the generic, prototypical, anonymous ancestor. The External *Bɔɣar* symbolizes the ritual value of the Ancestors to all the Talis. It implies the subjection of all the Talis to a common spiritual jurisdiction, deriving from the Ancestors. It symbolizes the continuity of the whole social order conceived as brought into being by the Ancestors, and kept in being under their spiritual

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aegis. Initiation into the *Bɔyar* cult binds the individual by the most solemn covenant known to the natives to uphold the social order bequeathed to the living by the Ancestors; and this is a bond that transcends the lineage. It requires the interests of the lineage to be subordinated to those of the wider community in particular circumstances.

That this is so can be seen from the fact that the most solemn oath of the Hill Talis is the oath by the External *Bɔyar*—'(By) my Ancestor Tɔŋna'ab and his late-millet flour water (*Nyaab Tɔŋna'ab ni u za zɔm kuom*)'. It is strictly forbidden to use late-millet flour in sacrifices at the External *Bɔyar*. The climax of the initiation ceremony is the administration of this oath to the novices at the *Bɔyar*, pledging them, in the name of a thing sternly excluded from its rites, to observe the tenets of the cult and keep the secret of its rites. This oath, in contrast to the oath by the totem animal, is a matter of the utmost gravity. 'If we swear thus', an elder of one of the Hill clans explained to me in tones of obvious awe, 'we all who are Talaŋ, you know we are speaking the truth. If you swear thus and lie you will die.' It is an oath which would be resorted to only in an extremely serious matter; and its gravity for the Hill Talis is known all over Taleland.

The sanction of the oath is the covenant entered into by a man when he is initiated. The *Bɔyar* destroys a perjurer. 'Will you not be going into the *Bɔyar* to sacrifice, and eat of the (sacrificial) flour and (sacrificial) fowl? This is what kills you (if you swear falsely)', a ritual functionary of the cult declared. It is not even a question of literal participation in the ritual of worship at the *Bɔyar*. A man who has offended it cannot offer sacrifice to his own dead father at his own home; for his father had, in his lifetime, taken part in the sacraments of the cult, and was joined to all the ancestors, whose common shrine is the *Bɔyar*, on his death. By the same reasoning even uninitiated members of clans that belong to a *Bɔyar* congregation can validly use the oath, though they would be unlikely to do so. For they are also 'the children of the *Bɔyar*'; their life, too, is 'in the keeping' of the ancestors who abide there. They will become initiated members of the cult if they are men, and they are members of the lineages incorporated into the cult if they are women.

When Hill Talis are asked how their totemic taboos are connected with the cult of the External *Bɔyar*. they say 'they belong together (*ba tɔŋa taaba*)'. The phrase implies that the two things are different but intrinsically related. In fact, the Hill Talis think of all their ritual institutions as being somehow connected with the *Bɔyar* cult. For behind all of them stands the sanction of the ancestor spirits. Totemic taboos hold independently of the *Bɔyar* cult. Breach of them, or a false oath by the totem animals, does not provoke the wrath of the *Bɔyar*. Fines are paid to the *Bɔyar* for a breach of totemic taboos because it is the supreme manifestation of the ancestors. If a person transgresses an obligation that falls on him by virtue of his descent, it is obviously necessary to appease the ancestors. On the same principle, the Hill Talis hale an adulterous wife to the External *Bɔyar* in order to force her to confess; for her sin endangers the life of her husband and children and thus jeopardizes their line of descent. This is a matter of concern to the ancestors, not only

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they are generally fairly common domestic or wild creatures. We have shown that the totemic avoidances of the Tallensi have a symbolic value in relation to their social organization. They are not, however, explicable simply as a function of the social structure. We cannot dismiss the choice of animal symbolism for this function as an accident of history or as mere coincidence. To understand it we should have to probe more deeply into the religious beliefs not only of the Tallensi but of all the peoples of this culture area. Animal and food taboos play a very important part in the ritual symbolism of Voltaic culture and indeed of West African cultures in general. We have repeatedly emphasized the intrinsic relation of the religious system of the Tallensi to their social structure. In a social system such as theirs, ritual ideas and values and the morphology of the society are interrelated as mind and body in the higher primates. But these two aspects of Tale society are not merely the obverse and reverse of the same coin. Though Tale religion springs directly out of the social structure, it is fed by streams whose sources lie beneath and beyond the social structure. We cannot pursue this theme here in detail, for it leads to problems of Tale psychology, and indeed of human psychology, that lie outside the scope of this study. We can only give an indication of the line such an enquiry would take. To do this we must consider some other forms of animal symbolism that appear in Tale religious beliefs.

Taboos of the Earth

Animals of all kinds can be endowed with ritual significance for individuals or groups among the Tallensi. They become sacred objects (*baɣa*, sing. *baɣər*) forming part of shrines (*baɣa*, sing. *baɣər*) dedicated to named ancestor spirits, on which sacrifices are offered. A *baɣər* animal is an individual animal or a species found in a particular place. Totem animals are not *baɣa*, since they are whole species respected everywhere and not associated with particular shrines.

Certain 'taboos of the Earth' (*tɛŋən kiha*) form a class of animal taboos standing between *baɣa* in the narrow sense and totems. Some Earth taboos are universal. Thus, throughout the Voltaic region it is a taboo to appropriate any unclaimed object of iron found lying on the ground. Other Earth taboos are specific to localities coming under the ritual jurisdiction of particular clans or lineages. All over Taleland large reptiles such as the crocodile (*baŋ*), the python (*wayakpɛm*), the tree- and water-lizards (*uuk* and *wuu*) are taboos of the Earth. They may not be killed within the precincts of any important Earth shrine. In the bush, where men have no social bonds with the land, and therefore no ritual bonds with the Earth at specific places, they are not sacred. Binding on everybody, these taboos hold with extra force for members of lineages that have tendaanas (see also pp. 187–8 below).

Tallensi say these animals are 'the people of the Earth (*tɛŋən nirəba*)' as men are people of such and such a settlement. They symbolize the mystical power of the Earth as it acts on human life, sometimes beneficently, sometimes punitively. This is what the natives mean when they say 'The Earth is a living thing (*tɛŋ la a bonvor*)'.

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This mystical power is focused for a particular social group in the Earth shrines of their own settlement—that is why the Earth animals are not sacred in the bush. And the ritual efficacy of the Earth at a particular place depends on its connexion with a particular social group holding the office of tendaana for that place. The animals therefore symbolize the moral relations of men, as these are determined by their social ties with particular tracts of the earth. They symbolize the function of locality in Tale social organization.

One logical element in this symbolism is obvious. The mystical 'livingness' of the Earth is symbolized in the living creatures it harbours. But this is not all, for otherwise other earth-dwelling creatures might have been selected as well.

The special relationship of the sacred Earth animals with the clan holding the tendaanaship for the area is focused in one species, as a rule. Thus the python is specially sacred at Gbizug, the crocodile at Zubiuŋ. To kill one of these animals at home is almost as bad as murder. For they are more than Earth taboos; they are 'ancestors' (*yaab*, pl. *yaanam*) to the group concerned. If found dead in the settlement, they are given a token funeral. The sacred crocodiles living in the Zubiuŋ water-hole are treated with an almost human familiarity. 'They are our ancestors, they would not injure us', the people say. In some clans carnivores like the leopard or the lion have this function, but are not considered Earth taboos. The natives say that their ancestors who have held politico-ritual office 'rise up again (*ihigərəme*)' after death as these animals. Tallensi deny that this is a belief in reincarnation or in the transmigration of souls. These taboos have attributes of totems, of Earth taboos, and of personal ancestor symbols; and the common thread is the notion of the ancestors as a living mystical force, symbolized in living creatures. The animals symbolize the immortality of the ancestors, that is, their efficacy and power in the life of their descendants. The ancestors are where their descendants are. One reason why the lineage is tied to its locality is because the ancestors are tied to it. They are spiritually present in the social life of their descendants in the same way as the sacred animals are present in sacred pools or in the locality with which the group is identified.

Functional Differentiation and its Symbolism

An important inference emerges from our argument. Lineage and locality are interwoven and interdependent factors of Tale social structure. But they are functionally discrete factors. We have previously seen how their interdependence is reflected in Tale religious ideology. We see now that their functional discreteness within the pattern of interdependence is also expressed in ritual symbols. The formally similar and associated but functionally distinct symbols we have discussed bring this out.

Tale society is highly homogeneous and integrated. But this is a resultant of the balanced interplay of a number of functionally discrete factors and of the inter-articulation of many clearly defined social units. Tale religion gives ritual expression and sanction to these principles.

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living at Zoo and Gbambee, though they are an integral part of the community.

Like all Tale settlements Tongo has no fixed territorial boundaries. (See map at end of book.) Its frontiers with the circumjacent settlements take the form of a social circumference, kept in being by local, genealogical, and politico-ritual ties and cleavages. This is the line of ecological and social balance between Tongo and its neighbours, more or less stable now, but still undergoing minor readjustments as this balance changes with alterations in the internal equilibrium of any of these units. It is most stable and firm where the genealogical, political, and ideological cleavages between Tongo and its neighbours are clear-cut and dominant; it is more pervious where Tongo's structural ties with an adjacent clan have greater strength than the cleavages between them. Thus, there is a distinct though sometimes narrow territorial separation between the outermost homesteads of Tongo and those of Wakii, Soog, Gbeog, and Ba'ari. At one point on the west side of Tongo only a stretch of cultivation separates Tongo homesteads from Wakii homesteads a stone's throw away. Tongo homesteads actually lie on the Wakii side of the watercourse which might have formed a natural boundary between them. On the south this watercourse and a straggling outcrop of rocks and boulders hedge in Tongo and mark it off from Wakii. A prominent landmark here is Samoo, a mass of huge rocks overgrown with trees and scrub. It is a sacred spot, the External *Bɔyar* of Soog and Gbeog. North of Samoo lies Tongo, the nearest Tongo homestead being about 50 yards away; south of it are Wakii and Soog. It would be most unlikely for a Tongo man to build his homestead on the south side of Samoo, or for a Soog or Wakii man to live north of it. For Samoo symbolizes all that the Namoos consider alien, hostile, and to some extent repugnant, in the cultural differences and structural cleavages between themselves and the Hill Talis. In olden days the immediate vicinity of Samoo was the no-man's-land where the two groups used to meet in battle.

Soog, Wakii, Gbeog, and Ba'ari, all Talis clans that were among the traditional enemies of Tongo in war, are all demarcated from the latter. On the border between Tongo and each of these clans is a stretch of land, cultivated or uncultivated, but free of homesteads, which is still thought of as the traditional battle-ground of the two groups. It is significant that these battle-grounds are all associated with Earth or *Bɔyar* shrines under the ritual jurisdiction of the Talis clans.

By contrast it is impossible to draw a clear line between the homesteads of Tongo and those of Zubiuŋ or Zoo. They merge completely. This corresponds to the close ties which have always existed between these three units and have enabled them to fuse easily into a single political community under the authority of the Chief of Tongo, since his acquisition of judicial and executive power under British rule.

In the old days Zubiuŋ and Zoo always fought on the side of Tongo against the Hill Talis. Both clans have direct politico-ritual roles in connexion with the Tongo chiefship, and come into its immediate field of influence, whereas the Hill Talis and Ba'ari come into its secondary field of influence. The three clans act as *sunzɔp*-by-courtesy (cf. ch. V) to

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622 793 182 Elsewhere their differentiation and relationship are obscured by the fusion of the two roles in a single office or by the subdivision and distribution of the two roles among a group of offices.

Broadly speaking, however, chiefship symbolizes the plexus of social relationships, based on lineage and kinship, which unites a defined group of people into a community; and tendaanaship symbolizes the bonds of men, as members of a community, with land, locality, and the material earth. Chiefship and tendaanaship are ritual offices because the principles of social structure they stand for are so fundamental that they appear to the natives as axiomatic. Projected on to the ritual plane, they are transformed into unchallengeable values and so become beacons that guide men's behaviour. Both chiefship and tendaanaship are vested in maximal lineages and therefore have the ritual sanction of the ancestor cult; both are associated with the organization of the Tallensi into local communities and the utilization of natural resources, and therefore have the sanction of the Earth cult. But in their complementary conjunction the emphasis in the chiefship is on its transmission from the ancestors, while the emphasis in the tendaanaship is on its specific ritual bonds with the mystical Earth.

764 184 622 793 This is brought out by one curious point of difference between the burial customs of Namoos and those of most non-Namoo clans. Namoos bury their dead at the entrance to the homestead, so that the ancestral graves of every segment of a lineage are separate. Men know the graves of their particular forebears and the graves of remoter ancestors who are significant for the structure of the lineage. The tombs of chiefs, in particular, are known and cared for by their agnatic descendants. Namoos also sacrifice to a particular ancestor on his grave. Clans which have tendaanas usually bury their dead in cemeteries within the settlement. They do not sacrifice to their ancestors on their graves and within two generations forget which is the grave of a particular individual. In other respects their ancestor cult is exactly the same as that of the Namoos. In clans that have the chiefship (*naditib*), the natives explain, the most important thing is for every man to be able to show exactly how he is connected by descent with previous holders of the chiefship; whereas in *tendaanditib* clans this is unimportant as all the members of the clan have the same ritual bonds with the Earth.

The Tendaana's Tey

719 793 776 471 Everywhere in Taleland men utilize the earth's resources in the same way and owe respect to the mystical powers of the Earth. But the natural resources of the Earth are of direct importance for them at particular places—where they farm, build their homesteads, hunt, fish, or collect bush products. It is at these places that the mystical power of the Earth impinges directly on their lives. Men's utilitarian interests in the earth's surface are sectional, not global; and so also are their social interests in it since they are divided into maximal lineages and clans which are precisely localized. Thus the earth's surface is divided into sections relatively to the social organization of the Tallensi. Each section has its own Earth shrines for the worship of the Earth at that place, and they are in the

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ritual custody of a particular clan or maximal lineage. Such a territorial section is the *tɛŋ* of a particular tɛndaana. He is the master (*daana*) of that locality (*tɛŋ*), exercising ritual jurisdiction over it on behalf of the maximal lineage or clan which has the ritual ownership of it, in virtue of being the head of that unit. He is the mediator between the Earth and the people whose interests lie in that fraction of its physical surface. When the concept *tɛŋ* is coupled with a tɛndaana it has a double meaning. It denotes both a stretch of territory and a place of contact with the mystical Earth. It may be used to designate a single Earth shrine (*tɔŋgban*) and its precincts, a total area of anything from about 20 square yards to an acre or two; and it can be applied to the whole of a tɛndaana's *tɛŋ*, which includes a number of *tɔŋgbana*.

Tɛndaanas' *tɛs* vary greatly in extent. As I have no exact measurements, I can only indicate roughly the range of differences. Small *tɛs* are the rule in the older and more densely settled part of the country. The area of a clan settlement on Tɛnzugu, for instance, perhaps a square mile altogether, may be divided amongst three or four tɛndaanas. On the other hand, at the peripheries tɛndaanas have ritual jurisdiction over large tracts of land, many square miles in extent. This is largely due to the absence of permanent settlement in these parts until recently, and the still relatively scanty population living there.

Tallensi do not think of a tɛndaana's *tɛŋ* in terms of its size but in terms of its position relatively to the *tɛs* of neighbouring tɛndaanas. Tɛndaanas themselves claim that their *tɛs* have definite boundaries, but when asked to show them they become very uneasy and quote the maxim 'The boundaries of a *tɛŋ* must not be pointed out (*Tɛŋɔn tɛntɔris pu pa'ana*)'. When my bona fides was, at length, accepted by the Tallensi I was able to persuade several tɛndaanas to have the boundaries of their *tɛs* shown to me. My guides were always ill at ease, and apparently felt that what they were doing verged on sacrilege. Chiefs and elders of clans that do not have tɛndaanas usually declare that it is impossible for tɛndaanas to have boundaries (cf. p. 164); for are not neighbouring tɛndaanas always 'kin' (*mabiis*)—by clanship or by ritual ties? Do they not often sacrifice together at one another's Earth shrines (*tɔŋgbana*) or go by stealth, at night, to sacrifice at a neighbouring tɛndaana's Earth shrines? Tɛndaanas do not deny this. In every group of contiguous maximal lineages, each presided over by a tɛndaana (as for instance Gbeog, Gbizug, and Zubiuŋ), the senior tɛndaana (in this instance the Gbizug tɛndaana) always claims to be the real 'owner' of the aggregate of *tɛs* held by the group of tɛndaanas. He talks of this aggregate of *tɛs* as if it were one *tɛŋ* apportioned amongst his junior 'brothers' and himself for the greater convenience of performing the priestly duties of the tɛndaanaship. They divide their common spiritual jurisdiction rather than a distinct stretch of territory; and in principle this rule embraces the whole of Taleland. For the powers of the Earth are indivisible, the Earth is a unity. When the Gbizug tɛndaana sacrifices to his supreme *tɔŋgban*—or, as he often phrases it, his *tɛŋ*—Kpoŋkparəg, he invokes all the important *tɔŋgbana* of Taleland, up to the limit of the field of politico-ritual relations in which Gbizug participates, from Duusi in the north-east to Biuŋ in the south.

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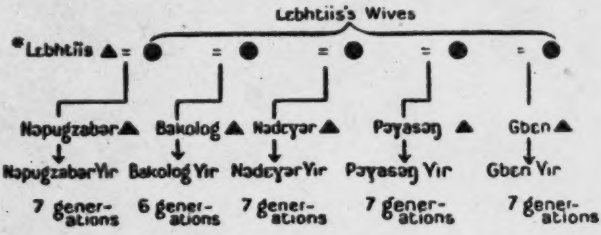
Diagrammatically, the agnatic filiation of the branches of Lɛbhtiis yir (or biis) can be represented as follows:



These five segments form a set of co-ordinate segments, all except Bakolog yidem reckoning seven generations inclusively between their present lineage heads and their common ancestor, Lɛbhtiis. Their corporate unity and common interests are symbolized by the ancestor shrine dedicated to the 'fathers' (*banam*) of the lineage, culminating in Lɛbhtiis. This is the *bɔɣar* of Lɛbhtiis, the *banam bɔɣar* (shrine of the forefathers) held by the head (*kpeem*) of the whole lineage, who may be a member of any of the five *dugɔt*. In 1934 the head of Lɛbhtiis yidem, Naandɔmɔr, who was also head of his own segment of Nɔpugzabɔr yiri died, and as his final funeral rites were not immediately performed, the *banam bɔɣar* remained in the custody of his son, who carried out the duties of head of the whole lineage in his late father's name. Naandɔmɔr's prospective successor as *kpeem* of Lɛbhtiis yir was Yinyɛla, the *kpeem* of Bakolog yir.

Each segment also has its particular *dugni bɔɣar* (shrine of the 'room'). This, as will be explained presently, is known as its 'mothers'' *bɔɣar* (*manam bɔɣar*)—the shrine of its eponymous founding ancestor among the sons of Lɛbhtiis, and his mother—the symbol of its differentiation, by reference to maternal origin, from its brother (*sunzɔ*) segments of the same descent, and of its specific corporate unity and identity in contraposition to those other segments.

Each segment tends to form a coherent residential cluster, situated on land which has been owned by its members for several generations, and in close proximity to the graves of their ancestors. The lineage as a whole tends to form a local aggregate, though a somewhat looser one than any of its segments. But not all the members of the lineage reside in Puhug, or at Tongo, at a given time. There are its married *pɔɣaɣabəlis* (women members) and absent male members. In Nɔpugzabɔr yiri two young men were away in 1934, one farming in Mampurugu, another working somewhere in the colony; three of the younger 'sons' of Bakolog yir were away at Kumasi, where they had been for several years. One subsegment of Pɔyasɔŋ yidem has been established at Yamələg for a generation or so; and several members of the other two segments were away in Mampurugu and Ashanti.

Numerically Nɔdɛyɔr yir is exceptionally small, for it has only eleven male members. The other segments have between twenty and thirty male members each, counting infants as well. Numbers, we must again emphasize, do not in any way affect the status of a lineage or the rights

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daily life, the antithesis between patrilateral and matrilateral ties in the joint family. There is also the principle of the continuity and identity of the lineage. Members of the same lineage are identified with one another and with their lineal ascendants. Tallensi think of a lineage as a continuous, even eternal, group, a unit persisting through time as well as existing at a given time. A particular lineage to-day is the same lineage that it was at its inception two, three, or *x* generations ago. Segments of a clan or maximal lineage have the same structural position relatively to one another as they had in the beginning, only on a different scale; and in the beginning segmentarily related lineages sprang from brothers. As these founding ancestors were related, so are their contemporary agnatic descendants related. Hence co-ordinate segments of a lineage are described as *sunzɔp* ('brothers by the same father'), and the bonds of brotherhood (*sunzɔt*) are the nucleus and prototype of the bonds between co-ordinate segments. Two co-ordinate segments whose founding ancestors were full (*soog*) brothers have closer ties than similar co-ordinate segments descended from a pair of half-brothers. The lineage is always growing, but can never break the unchanging frame laid down at its beginning. It is almost as if a single person has undergone a quantitative metamorphosis with the passage of generations.

Lineage ties cannot lapse or be renounced. A maximal lineage once established can never split into two or more independent (i.e. mutually exogamous) maximal lineages, as in some other areas of Africa, and territorial dispersion does not break the lineage tie, even after many generations. In fact, the whole stream of Tale social life emphasizes and reinforces the sense of lineage continuity, and of the identification of members of a lineage with one another, with their predecessors, and with their prospective successors. This is the basis of the corporate unity and solidarity of the lineage, and of the lineal transmission of rights and duties, ritual observances, office, property, and debts; and for this reason any member of a lineage can represent any other member, living or dead, or the whole lineage, in relation to other lineages of a like sort. This, too, underlies the usage by which members of a lineage can refer to their founding ancestor either as their 'father' (*ba*) or as their 'ancestor' (*yaab*), a term which denotes any patrilineal ancestor beyond and including the grandfather. It explains the conception of the lineage progenitrix—the founding ancestor's mother—as the 'mother' (*ma*) of the lineage. It must be added that even when a lineage is envisaged as a *dug* deriving from its progenitrix, it takes its name from her son, as its agnatic founding ancestor as a branch of a more inclusive lineage.

The rules of lineage segmentation can be summed up as follows: Whenever a lineage is envisaged as an inclusive corporate unit embracing two or more subordinate segments, it is identified by reference to its founding *ancestor*, as the starting-point of its descent. It is thought of as a *yir*, house, 'the children of one father (*ba yɛni biis*)', on the model of the patricentral joint family (*yir* in the primary sense) in which the offspring form a single genealogical and social unit with reference to their common father. Its focal ancestor shrine is designated the '*bɔyar* of the fathers (*banam bɔyar*)', a notion that stresses the dominance of the father-figure

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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613 in the unity of the patrilineal descent group and in the coherence of the
●778 family. But when a lineage is visualized as a set of segments, these are differentiated by reference to their respective *progenitrices*, just as in the joint family the offspring can be subdivided in accordance with their maternal origins. The focal ancestor shrine of each segment is then called 'the *bɔyar* of the mothers (of the segment) (*manam bɔyar*)'. It is identical in form with the 'fathers' *bɔyar*' but complementary to it in function. Its name stresses the predominance of matrilateral origin in the differentiation of the segments of a lineage, by contrast with the patricentral lineage as a whole. Tallensi speak of a 'mothers' *bɔyar*' as being the shrine of the segment's founding ancestor and his mother, by contrast with the 'fathers' *bɔyar*', which they say is the shrine of the founding ancestor of the lineage only. But they recognize that a 'mothers' *bɔyar*' will in the course of time become a 'fathers' *bɔyar*' when the segment undergoes internal differentiation into sub-segments, and may function as a 'fathers' *bɔyar*' if the segment is already so differentiated. When a segment of a lineage is thus distinguished from co-ordinate segments of the same lineage, it is also implicitly contrasted with the whole lineage. It is thought of as a matri-segment, though named after its founding ancestor, and is described as a 'room', *dug*—'the children of one mother (*ma yeni biis*)'—of the 'house', *yir*, on the model of the joint family in which the matricentral *dug* is a segment of the patricentral *yir*.

613 Maternal origin (*ma dɔyam*) thus has significance only within the frame of patrilineal descent, as the polar opposite of paternal origin (*ba dɔyam*). Taken by itself, every lineage, no matter what its span or order may be, has only one founding ancestor and one progenitrix, this man's mother. The progenitrix of a lineage becomes significant only when it is considered in conjunction with other lineages of the same descent. Both morphologically and functionally every lineage represents an equilibrium based on the polarity of maternal filiation and patrilineal descent which runs through the whole genealogical structure of Tale society.

[778] Obviously any segment of a lineage which comprises two or more sub-segments can function as a *dug* in one context or situation and as a *yir* in another. Its focal ancestor shrine thus functions as a *manam bɔyar* in one context and as a *banam bɔyar* in another. In principle a maximal lineage of wide span must always act as a *yir*—and hence its focal ancestor shrine is always a *banam bɔyar*; but by a stretch of the term it may be referred to as a *dug* when someone wishes to lay special stress on its genealogical unity and corporate solidarity in contrast to other similar units. The
[682] murder of a fellow member of the same maximal lineage is, for instance, always dealt with as 'an affair of the room (*dugni yɛl*)', which stringently excludes reprisals.

A few maximal lineages have so narrow a span, due, no doubt, to the extinction of collateral lines, that they function as medial or inner lineages (wide *dugɔt*), a distinction that will be clearer presently. Thus the maximal lineage of Gundaat is not subdivided into ritually and jurally differentiated major segments. Its head, the Gundaat-Bɔyarna'ab, explained this in a manner which shows how clearly many Tale elders grasp the mechanics of their own social structure. 'We have not yet achieved

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613 nuclear lineage; but this land may be some distance from the ancestral
621 home, owing to the scattering of holdings.

Looking at it from the native point of view, we should say, not that individuals tend to live near one another because they are agnatic kin, but that all lineages down to the effective minimal lineage tend to be tied to localities; and the more closely lineages are related, the greater is the spatial propinquity of their dwelling areas. The distribution of households is not rigidly parallel to the lineage structure at a given time. Mere spatial proximity cannot be directly translated into terms of lineage proximity. There is a diachronic element as well. Kurug's homestead (No. 6), for example, is nearer to Pumaan's (No. 5) in yards and feet than to Lɛbhtiis's; but Kurug is closer to Lɛbhtiis than to Pumaan in lineage. This is due chiefly to changes in the internal structure of their respective nuclear lineages in the last twenty or thirty years. The spatial relations of homesteads to one another reflect lineage relations in their diachronic aspect.

The Concept of the Lineage Home

613 Lineages tend to be tied to specific localities even if many of their
621 members are permanently or temporarily away from the lineage home.
778 Some representatives of the lineage will generally continue to reside near the ancient home where the spirits of the ancestors still dwell. The *daboog*, the site of the original home of the lineage, the first dwelling-place of its founding ancestor, is a hallowed spot. It is identified by reference to ancestral land and to the graves of the ancestors. These are the fixed things. Homesteads are not eternal. Their collocation reflects the structure of the lineage at a given time; but it changes as the composition and segmentation of the lineage alters. Whenever an alteration of this sort occurs, there is a corresponding reshuffle in the housing arrangements. New homesteads are erected, old homesteads replanned and rebuilt or abandoned. A lineage being an organic unit has, in native eyes, but one home (*yir*), though the material embodiment of this home is distributed at any given time. The *daboog* of the lineage of Nɔpugzabɔr yidem, the original homestead site of their ancestor Nɔpugzabɔr, is on what was in 1934 the home farm of the head of the lineage, Deemzeet, a stone's throw from his gateway. The graves of Nɔpugzabɔr and his sons, and a tree which sprouted on Nɔpugzabɔr's grave and is believed, therefore, to enshrine his spirit, mark the spot where his gateway (*zanɔr*) stood.

From this arises the concept of the lineage *zanɔr*. All the homesteads of its members together make up the lineage home (*yir*), and this home has its single gateway (*zanɔr*), the lineage *zanɔr*. The notion is preeminently symbolical, but its material embodiment is the homestead of the lineage head, and therefore, specifically, the gateway of his homestead. It applies to all levels of lineage organization, up to the maximal lineage. In a maximal lineage the site of the founding ancestor's homestead is generally a sacred spot, often marked by the erection on or near it of a
[554] miniature room to represent the ancestral *xɔŋ*. This room is one of the shrines connected with the lineage *bɔyar*, and its custody is vested in a

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segment of the lineage whose head always takes the title of *Yikpɛmdaan*[1] and has the duty of sacrificing to the collective ancestors of the lineage on behalf of all its members. Among clans that have tɛndaanas the senior tɛndaana often has to build his homestead on the site of the founding ancestor's homestead; and when a tɛndaana dies his successor takes possession of the ancestral homestead and his children move out. But many other arrangements exist all serving the same end of keeping alive the idea of the lineage home.

In the lineage we are discussing the three homesteads of the members stand on ancestral land quite close to the graves of the lineage ancestors, Doohraan, Damtii, and Nɔpugzabɔr. When Deemzeet formally became the head of the lineage his homestead housed the lineage *bɔyar* and other shrines of its common ancestors, and his gateway became the lineage *zanɔr*. The ancestral graves of this lineage are actually on land owned by its members. This is not always the case. Changes in the ownership of land as the population shifts frequently result in the land surrounding the ancestral graves of a lineage-segment passing into the hands of members of another segment of the same lineage, sometimes even into the hands of members of a neighbouring clan. The spot continues, nevertheless, to be regarded as the *daboog* of the lineage whose ancestral graves lie there. The conception of the lineage home is split. For jural and social purposes it is the *de facto* home of the lineage, the place where its head actually resides. The site of the ancestral home, marked by the graves of the ancestors, comes to be regarded primarily as the religious focus of the lineage.

The Influence of Lineage Localization in the Social Life

This fact, that in the older settlements the core of a lineage is a locally organized unit, and that its location is associated with its ancestor spirits on the one hand and its patrimonial land on the other, moulds the entire life of its members. The corporate unity and identity of a lineage is a real and tangible thing when its male members can see one another every day, and when most of them, certainly most of their leading men, can gather together easily and in a very short time to consider and take action in affairs of common interest. Classificatory kinship is no mere formality where an individual's childhood companions are his or her own siblings and ortho-cousins of various degrees; where a man's daily intercourse is carried on chiefly with close agnatic kinsmen, and almost entirely with men of the same patrilineal descent, in his section or settlement; where a man can readily, and indeed is compelled to, by the fact of physical accessibility in a culture lacking rapid and indirect means of communication, have immediate and almost exclusive recourse to his patrilineal kin for help in economic activities, support in maintaining his rights or performing his duties, advice and guidance in the conduct of his life, or solace in misfortune. Ceremonial co-operation is not an empty formula

[1] Tallensi are poor etymologists and various equally plausible etymologies are suggested for this title. The most probable is that it is compounded of *yir*, house; *kpiim*, spirits of the dead, and *daana*, custodian or master. This can be translated 'Custodian of the House of the Spirits of the Lineage Ancestors'.

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four major segments of the clan have an equal role. All have the same obligations and the same rights, vested in them as corporate units defined in relation to the whole clan; and all the segments must participate in equal degree. A similar corporate activity in a clan like Zubiuŋ is a sacrifice to the External *Bɔyar*, Duunkpalɔg.

The four sections of Tongo are equal and co-ordinate in political and jural matters. In religious matters of common interest Puhug is senior (*kpeem*) to the other sections. This is because Mosuor's grave and *bɔyar* and Sɛyahəg's grave and *bɔyar* are the exclusive charge of Puhug, whose section head (*yizug kpeem*) always has custody of these shrines and officiates in sacrifices to them.

The Local Embodiment of the Ritual Focus of the Sub-clan

Puhug was the original home (*daboog*) of Mosuor. There he dwelt beside Tɛndaan Gɛnət, the site of whose *daboog* is now the sacred dancing-ground of the *Giŋgaaŋ* Festival, hence called Giŋgaaŋ Puhug. This is the hub of Tongo as an enduring and stable local unit. Whatever vicissitudes the clan may suffer, whether it expands or contracts, however widely its members may be dispersed, Giŋgaaŋ Puhug remains for ever fixed and inviolable, the heart of the clan and the visible and consecrated sign of its existence and persistence. At the edge of Giŋgaaŋ Puhug is the grave of Tɛndaan Gɛnət, and nearby are the graves of the first ancestors of Mosuor biis—Mosuor, Sɛyahəg, and Bɔyada—marking the sites where their homesteads stood. Thus the ritual and ideological focus of Tongo's corporate unity as a descent group (and the same rule applies to all Tale clans) is directly bound up with its physical counterpart, the local focus of Tongo's unity and identity. In clans that have tɛndaanas, it is usually the principal Earth shrine (*tɔŋgban*) that is the consecrated local focus of the clan.

Mosuor's grave, marked by an irregular flat heap of large stones, lies under an enormous old baobab tree which the people of Tongo say *is* Mosuor (see map of Tongo). On the side of the trunk facing the grave are signs of the sacrifices offered there—dirty streaks of dried blood and flour-water, and patches of fowl and guinea-fowl feathers stuck to the trunk with blood. It is a prominent landmark in Puhug, and a favourite shade tree for the people of the nearby homesteads. There the old men come and rest on hot afternoons, infants are put out to sit, well protected from the sun, while their mothers get on with the household work, and older children come to play or to swing in the branches. It is characteristic of the Tallensi that the people of Tongo treat their most sacred shrines in this realistic and matter-of-fact way in the context of everyday life. The tree is sacred, it is a *Bayar*, but it is also just a tree, whose ritual significance is not relevant except on a ritual occasion. Then it is treated with appropriate reverence. And this is true, also, of ancestral graves, which are often treated very casually and sometimes allowed to fall into such neglect that none but the elders of the lineage descended from him know exactly where a particular ancestor's grave is. Mosuor's grave, however, being of such outstanding ritual importance for the whole of Tongo, is more carefully kept and is always treated with respect.

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778 769 The graves of Sɛyahəg and Bəyada lie within a couple of minutes' walk of each other and of Mosuor's baobab in Puhug. Though Bəyada's grave is in the middle of the home farm of a Puhug man, its custody is vested in Kuorəg, whose head comes to sacrifice there periodically. Similarly Siiyɛŋ, Kəbər, and Bəyayiedət, the ancestors of Guŋ and Dekpieŋ, lie buried at Guŋ proper, at the *daboog* of this *yizug*, though the majority of their descendants live at Dekpieŋ.

173 764 For the people of Tongo—and this also applies to all Tallensi except the Hill Talis—the disposition of graves maps out the gradual increase or diminution in numbers of the clan or any segment of the clan through the generations, and its gradual territorial expansion or retraction. Thus Tendaan Gɛnət's house site and grave in the centre of Puhug are accepted as proof that the Gbizugdɛm lived there at the time of Mosuor's arrival and were gradually pushed out to their present location by the spreading of Mosuor's progeny. The founding ancestor of Zubiuŋ Yakəradɛm, Gɛnət's putative brother, is also believed to have lived at Puhug at that remote period, and they, too, are said to have been dispossessed by Mosuor biis. Similarly the location of Bəyada's grave is proof to the natives that the growing numbers of Puhugdɛm caused his descendants to withdraw gradually into what is now Kuorəg.

Structure of the Clan Settlement among non-Namoos

613 621 764 Among Talis as well as Namoos in the older part of Taleland, the clan settlement is built up round the lineage in this way. In composite clans the tendency is always for each constituent maximal lineage to form a locally distinct though not strictly demarcated aggregate, and for the segments of these *yizugət* to follow the same rule more markedly. The correlation of residence with lineage, ancestral lands, and the graves of the ancestors holds. At Zubiuŋ, at Ba'ari, and among the non-Namoo clans living in the vicinity of Yaməlag and Sie—the group of clans which the Hill Talis regard as having been culturally influenced by the Namoos—a person is buried among his own (or her husband's) immediate forebears near the homestead. The Hill Talis bury their dead in small cemeteries, each section (*yizug*) or main segment (*dug*) of a section usually [184 having its own. Among all the Talis and the non-Namoos of the Sie 778] district a sacred grove (*tɔŋgban*) or an External *Bəyar* takes the place of the sacred dancing-ground at Tongo as the local and spiritual focus of the settlement. The homestead of the *yizug* head, housing the most important shrines of its ancestors, whatever his ritual office may be, is often fixed, so that when a man succeeds to the office he takes possession also of the homestead that goes with it; thus the idea of the home of the maximal lineage has an everlasting and consecrated embodiment in the actual homestead occupied by its head.

184 793 621 Among the clans which have tendaanas the local anchorage of the clan and of its constituent maximal lineages is, in some respects, even stronger than among the Namoos. It is more conspicuously wrought into their institutions and more obviously sacrosanct, since the office of tendaana presupposes very special ritual bonds, the strongest bonds known to the Tallensi, of a maximal lineage with locality.

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(*a*) The grave of Tɛndaan Gɛnɔt and the space believed to have been occupied by his homestead and Mosuor's, now the sacred dancing ground, Giŋgaaŋ Puhug, at Tongo. Note that it is not cultivated.

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341

(*b*) A miniature homestead symbolizing the ancestral home of a maximal lineage or clan. Note the lineage *bɔyar* against the outside wall.

[FACING p. 224]

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PLATE XII

415
301
291
778
531
302

(*a*) The head of a medial lineage, Siiyɪŋ biis of Tongo, about to sacrifice to the lineage *bɔyar* on formally taking over the headship of the lineage. The *bɔyar* is in front of him in the broken pottery vessel.

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415

(*b*) A sacrifice to the *dugni* (maximal lineage) *bɔyar* of one of the component maximal lineages of Zubiuŋ. Only elders of the lineage are present.

[facing p.225]

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This aspect of the *Bɔyar* cult had great economic and social importance, in the past, for the Hill Talis. The pilgrims bring gifts of salt, cloth, hoes and so forth, nominally for the *Bɔyar*, that is, the Primordial Ancestor, who is believed to manifest himself in the oracular voice. Actually these gifts are secretly shared among the heads of the maximal lineages which own the particular *Bɔyar*. Nowadays these gifts are of small, though by no means negligible, worth, for all these commodities can be bought in any market, far more cheaply than in the past. But in the past they represented a valuable source of supply of scarce and highly prized goods.

Again, the visits of the pilgrims are annually reciprocated by a visit to the client village of representatives of the Tali lineage which is its sponsor with the *Bɔyar* to which it owes ritual allegiance. These ritual visits are made in order to consecrate local shrines representing the *Bɔyar*, to release pilgrims and children born to them from special taboos, and to perform the ritual shaving of the children by which they are formally placed under the spiritual guardianship of the *Bɔyar*. But these services are paid for in cowries and other gifts, and portions of the animals sacrificed are taken home and added to the meat supply of the sponsors. Young men go along on these ritual tours carrying fowls for sale in the client villages, and sometimes buy grain or yams in return.

The pilgrim traffic was, therefore, in former times an economic asset of the first importance as the Hill Talis and their neighbours themselves point out. It gave them also a wider range of social and cultural relationships than their own restricted community. People travelling to and from the Tong Hills on ritual errands carried the sacred emblems of the *Bɔyar* cult and were safe from molestation.

Some twenty years ago the pilgrim traffic took a new turn. Tallensi were coming into contact with Ashanti and the coast, and thus news of the Tong Hills 'fetishes' reached those areas. Men from the Hills, with a mixture of inborn business acumen and sincere faith in the magical powers of their oracle cult, advertised the cult quietly. A trickle of pilgrims from these wealthy and comparatively sophisticated areas began to flow northwards. And the trickle soon became a broad stream. Rich and poor, farmers, traders, chiefs, commoners, literate and illiterate, pagans and Christians joined the stream. To-day this traffic is a major industry of the Tong Hills.

These pilgrims[1] from the south come with extraordinarily varied wishes to lay before the *Bɔyar*. They beg for children, for health, for wealth, for power, for the success of farming and business enterprises, for victory in litigation, for help in a career or in the prosecution of political aims. Most important of all, Ashanti and Colony medicine men come to purchase the privilege of ritual clientship of the *Bɔyar*. They receive the right to

[1] I am indebted to Dr. M. J. Field, formerly Government Anthropologist, Gold Coast, for some information on the Colony end of this traffic. See also her *Religion and Medicine of the Ga People* for references to 'Nana Tongo' and her paper 'Some New Shrines of the Gold Coast and their Significance', *Africa*, xiii. 2, 1940. Rattray, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 361 ff., gives a vivid description of the ceremony at the Tɔŋnaab *Bɔyar* when hundreds of southern pilgrims come to present their pleas and register their vows.

2: Fortes

131, 133, 361, 487, 778, 764, 621

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[Chart of sections of end-map:

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

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MAP OF PART OF TON

Conventional Signs

- Government roads (dry season)
- Major footpath
- Minor footpath
- Rainy season stream, dry season ditch
- Rainy season rivulet
- Tendaana's territory (tɛŋ) boundaries
- Farm boundaries
- Swampy patches (rainy season)
- Graves
- Tree
- Sacred Groves
- Water holes

Social Divisions

(each circle is one homestead)

Tongo Homesteads

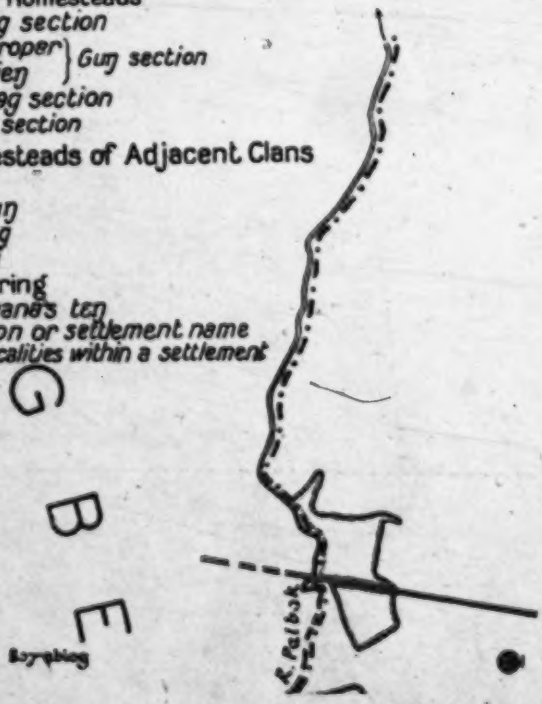
- Puhug section
- Gun proper, Dekpien } Gun section
- Kuorag section
- Seug section

Homesteads of Adjacent Clans

- Zoo
- Zubiun
- Gbizug
- Wakii

Lettering

- SOOG Tendaana's tɛŋ
- Puhug Section or settlement name
- Tɛŋr Sub-localities within a settlement



[End-MAP(A)]

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TONGO

[End-map (B)]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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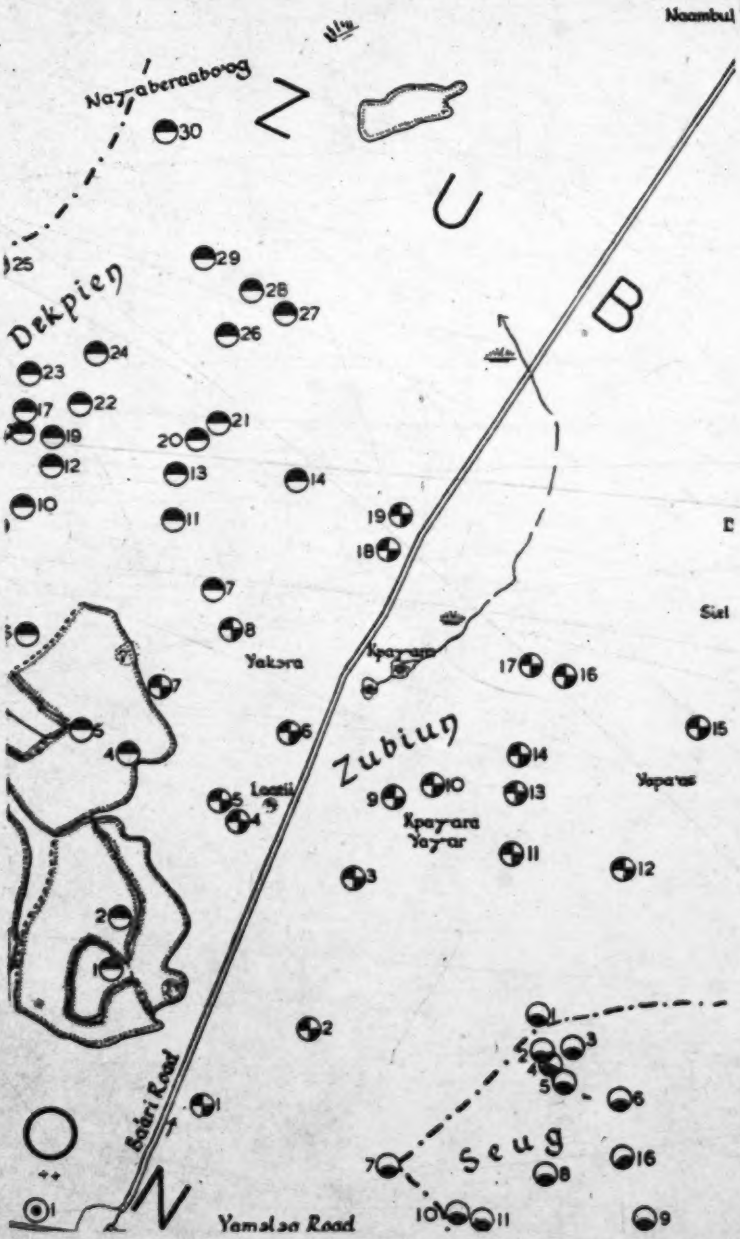

[END-MAP(C)]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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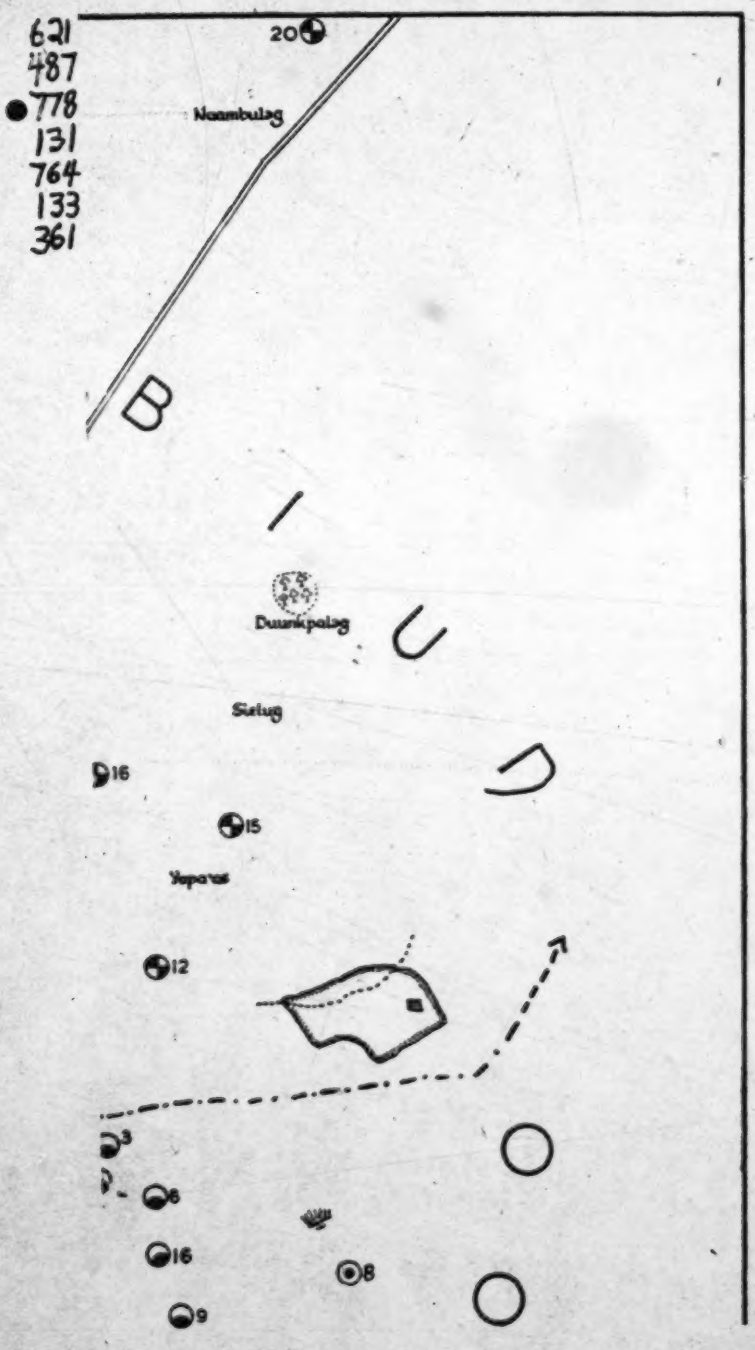

[End-map (D)]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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The map includes the whole territorial extent of Tongo proper (*Tɔŋ-Naŋ*) boundaries. It shows *all* the homesteads of Puhug section and Guŋ proper homesteads on the outskirts of the other sections (i.e. in Kuorəg, Seug, and The map also shows *all* the homesteads of Gbizug and of the Yakəra sec

[End-Map(E)]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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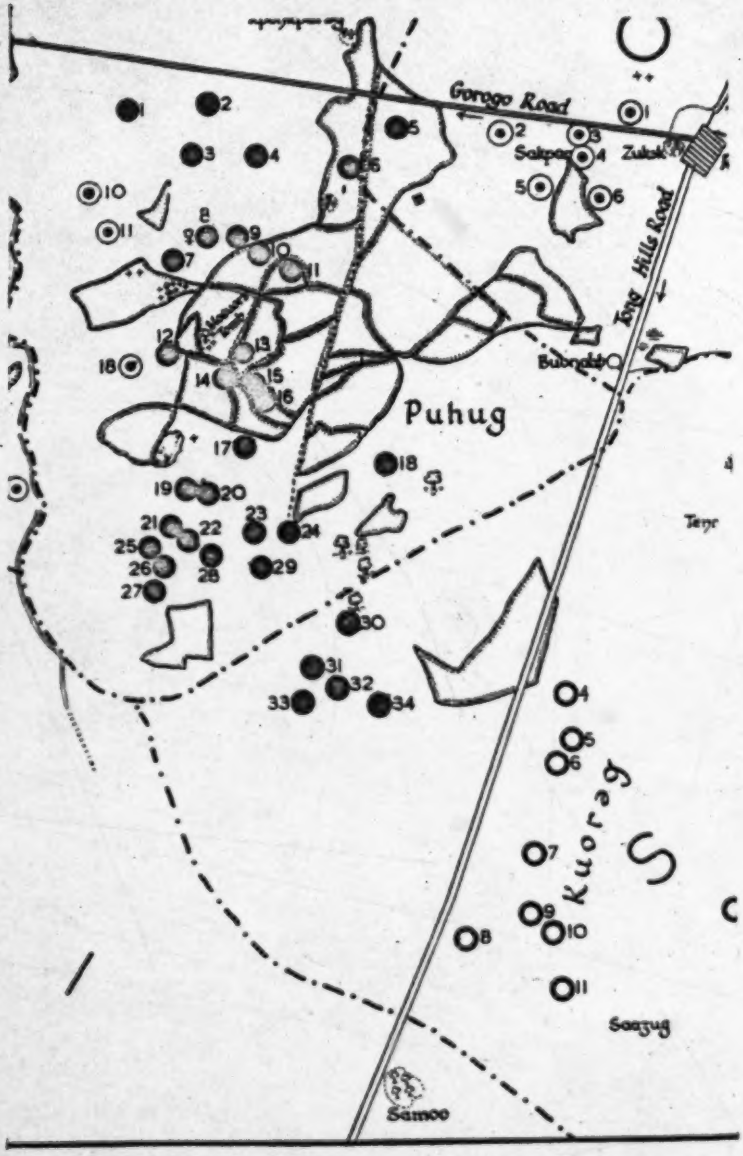
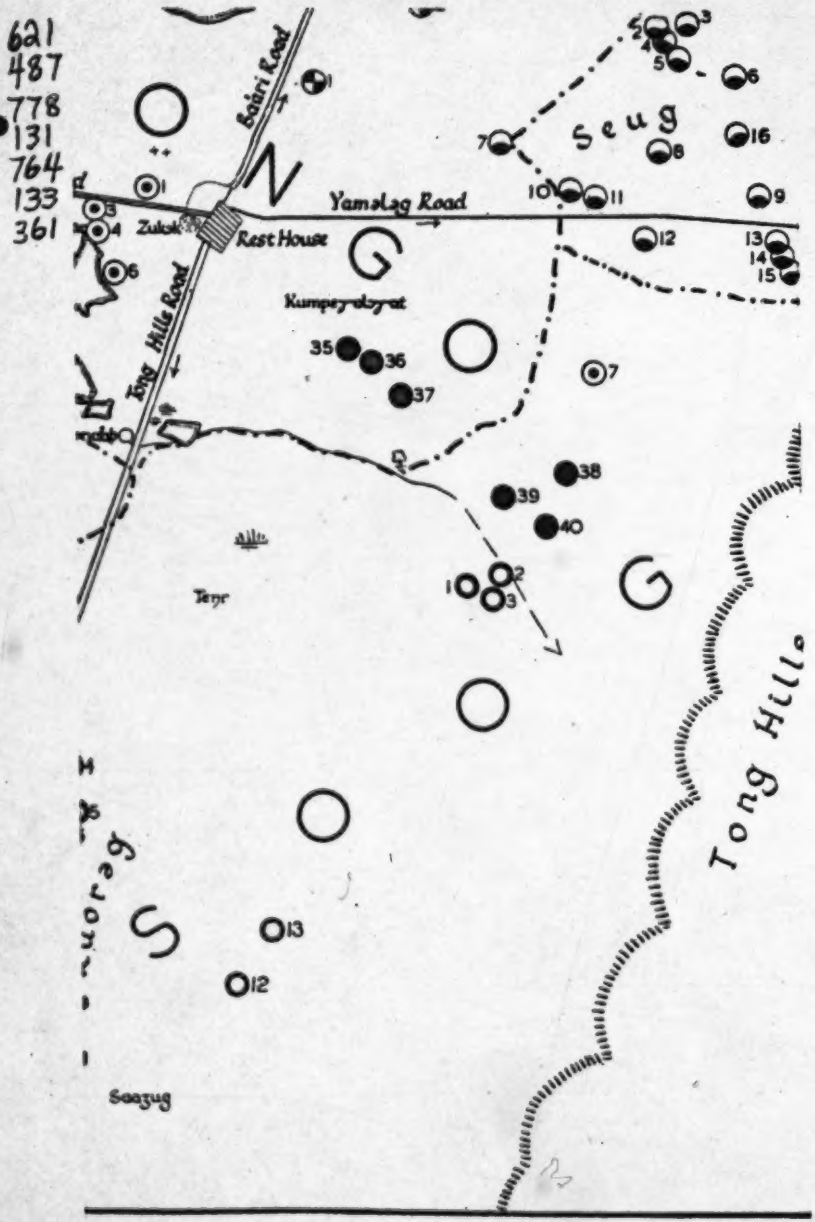


SKETCH MAP OF TONGO AND PARTS OF

o proper (*Tɔŋ-Nayiri*) but not all the homesteads within its social
n and Guŋ proper (*Guŋ* on the map) but leaves out about a dozen
Kuorəg, Seug, and Dekpieŋ).
ə of the Yakora section of Zubiuŋ. It shows most of the Zubiuŋ-

Kpayarı
few Wal
The l
covering

[End-MAP (F)]



PARTS OF ADJACENT SETTLEMENTS

nal Kpayara yayar homesteads, leaving out two or three on the outskirts,
en few Wakii and Zoo homesteads.

The Farm Boundaries shown indicate the situation of only a small
n- covering the map with crosses, only a few of the founding ancestors' gr

[End-MAP (6)]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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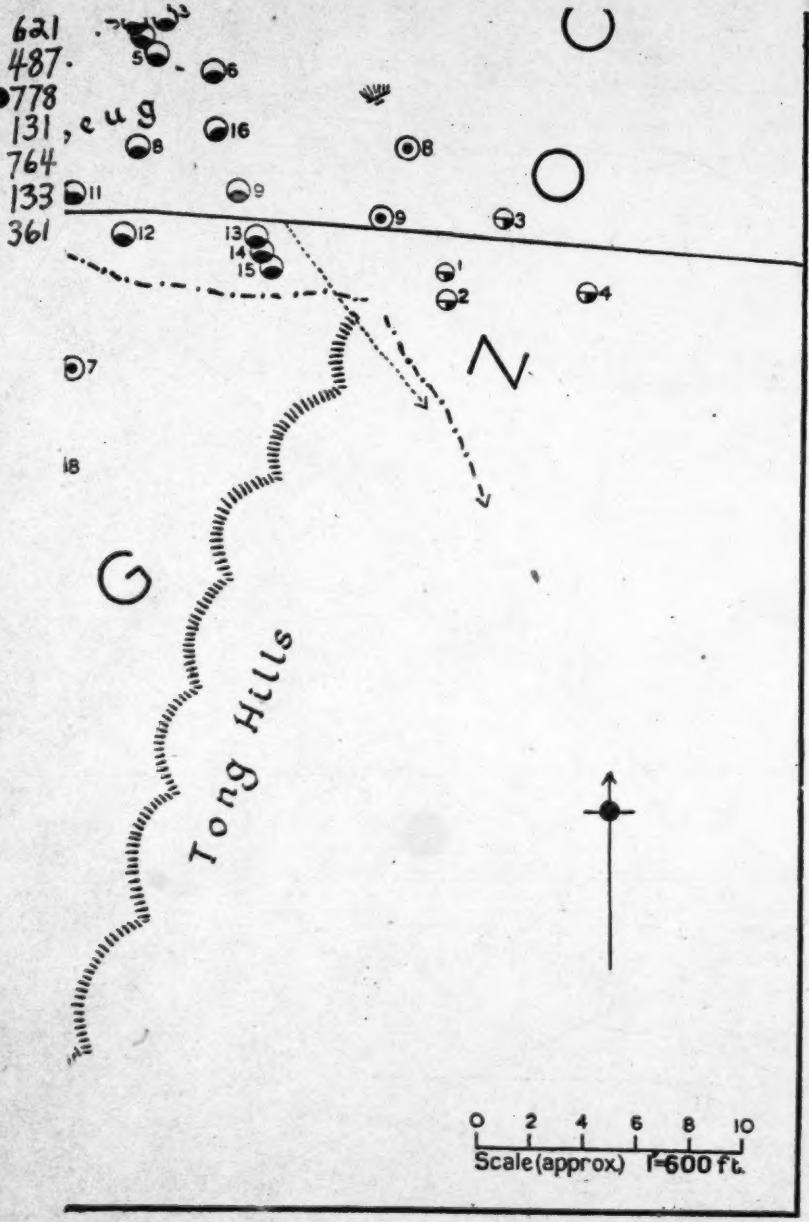

ITS

r three on the outskirts, but no Zubiuŋ-Yapaas homesteads. It shows only a

situation of only a small selection of Tongo home farms. Similarly, to avoid
he founding ancestors' graves have been marked.

[End-map (H)]

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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613 A maximal lineage is not only an organic genealogical unit, it is also *ipso facto* an organic ritual unit. The focus of its genealogical differen-
769 tiation from and relative autonomy in relation to other like units, as well as of its corporate solidarity and its continuity in time, is the cult
778 of its founding ancestor. The material symbol of this is the shrine (*bɔyar*) of that ancestor, custody of which is vested in the head (i.e. the most senior male) of the lineage. Among the Talis each segment of a composite clan has its lineage *bɔyar*, distinguishing it from the other segments of the clan. But, in addition, groups of maximal lineages belonging, severally, to *different* clans, and not necessarily united *inter se* by ties of clanship, collaborate in the cult of their collective ancestors. The collective ancestors are believed to dwell in a *bɔyar* known as an External *Bɔyar*. An External *Bɔyar* is usually a sacred grove, or a shallow cave in the hill-side, where the community meets for the ritual of the cult. The most important rites of the cult occur during the Harvest Festival, when thanksgiving sacrifices are offered and young men of the group are initiated into its mysteries by special ceremonies.

771 Clanship ties, as we have mentioned, constitute the principal factor
794 of social integration among all the Tallensi. Among the Talis the cult of the External *Bɔyar* is another important factor of cohesion and
182 equilibrium. It unites segments of different clans in the worship of
769 the ancestors, and is common to the majority of Talis clans. It represents a system of social bonds that cut across and counterpoise those of clanship. But this system is itself counterpoised, on the plane of religious values, by the organization of the Earth cult. Groups of maximal lineages belonging severally to *different* clans, which are not associated in the cult of the External *Bɔyar*, collaborate in the rites of
[778] the Earth cult. Each such group has its special Earth shrines, generally in the form of sacred groves (*tɔŋgban*). Thus each maximal lineage of a composite clan among the Talis has one field of corporate social relations in terms of clanship ties, a different field of corporate social relations in terms of the External *Bɔyar* cult, and yet a third field of corporate social relations in terms of the Earth cult. The system as a whole forms a remarkable structure of mutually balancing fields of social and politico-ritual relations integrated into a complex unity. Sectional loyalties in one direction or on one level are counterpoised by similar loyalties in another direction or at another level. And the system as a whole stands under the governance of the supreme sanctions of Tale social life, the ancestor cult and the Earth cult. To crown it all, moreover, there is the ritually sanctioned and regulated polar opposition of Talis and Namoos focused in the relationship of the chiefship and the tɛndaana-ship.

The Internal Constitution of the Maximal Lineage

613 In this scheme of clanship ties and politico-ritual relationships the

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

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over its destinies just as they controlled its social and economic activities in their lifetime. 769

A new homestead is erected for preference on the site of a man's father's or other patrilineal ancestor's *daboog*. Such a site is consecrated through having been the scene of human residence in the past, and through the abiding association with it of the ancestors who formerly lived there. If a man builds on virgin land, the site must not only be technically prepared for habitation, it must also be ritually won for human ends. Hence the tendaana under whose ritual jurisdiction the spot falls must first consecrate it, and the new dwelling must be magically protected against those vague personifications of irrational maleficence, mystically dangerous stones (*kubeet*) and trees (*tebees*). So complete is the identification of the family with its dwelling, that if persistent misfortune dogs the family after its removal to a new homestead, and all other ritual measures seem to have failed, the onus is finally thrown on the homestead itself. 'The house has not accepted them (*yir la pu diebame*)', the diviners discover. The whole complex of mystical agencies which endow the house with its moral value for the family is against them. 592 783 778

In the single homestead, as in the settlement of which it is the elementary cell and the structural epitome, Tale social organization has three fundamental aspects—material, associational, and moral. They represent the three major kinds of interests and ends that govern Tale social life. And though all forms of social relations among the Tallensi always have these three classes of components, they do not always work in harmony with one another. 592 181

In the homestead, as in the settlement, social relations move in two planes: the plane of lineage relations, in which the canon of agnatic descent dominates corporate action and directs individual conduct, and the plane of domestic relations, in which the bonds of marriage and parenthood, and the bilateral ties of kinship in the narrowest sense, control the behaviour of people towards one another. The persons who form a unit in one plane fall into separate, opposed units in the other. Husband and wife belong to mutually exclusive lineages; brothers by the same father but different mothers belong to separate matricentral segments of the family and are nuclei of independent conjugal families. 592 571

The Ideas and Values embodied in the Homestead

It is far truer of the Talǝŋ than of the modern Englishman to say that his home is his castle, though not as literally as Cardinall imagines. The natives of these parts, he declares, build their homesteads solidly and a bow-shot apart in order the better to defend them against hostile neighbours.[1] This romantic explanation, however, has 592 361

[1] Cardinall, A. W., *Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*, pp. 2, 14.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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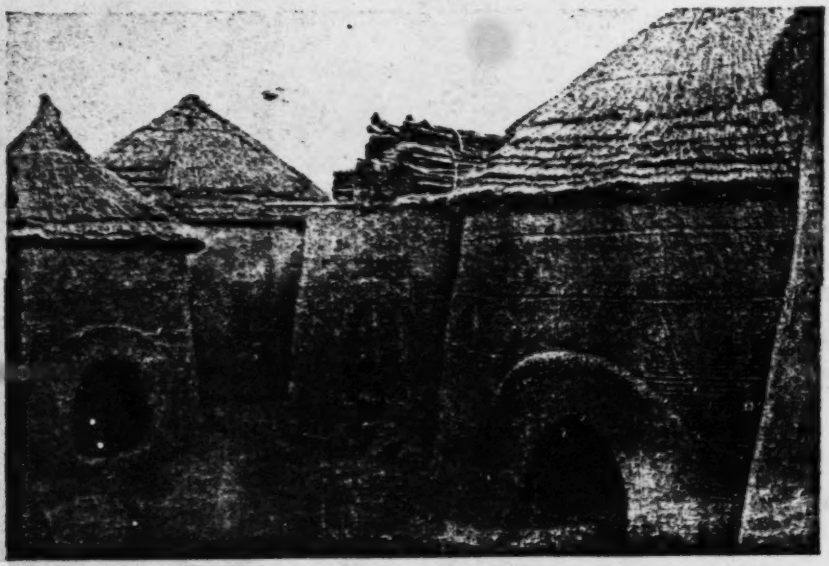
PLATE 3



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a. Interior of a woman's *Dug*. The rooms from right to left are a store-room (*Da'ŋboog*), a dry season kitchen (*Da'aŋ*), and a small *Dakir* for the woman's young son and daughter-in-law. The woman's own sleeping-room (*Dakir*) is farther to the right, not visible. Note how clean and bare the *Dɛndɔŋo* is and note, also, the bundles of dry guinea-corn stalks on top of the open kitchen. These have been saved for fuel in the rainy season

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b. The homestead of a maximal lineage head, the Gbiɛug Tendaana. Note the ancestor shrines in front of the gateway (X)

[facing p. 48]

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

sultry nights the head of the house often makes up his bed there. When his grain is ripening on the home farm he climbs on to the *pii* every morning to survey it, and often stands there to keep an eye open for stray animals likely to spoil it. There is always an ancestor shrine or two on the flat roof, as it is the appropriate place for a *yin* shrine in the earliest stage of its evolution; and it is from the flat roof that the alarm call, *yaahi! yaahi!* is broadcast when a death occurs or something untoward happens for which the immediate assistance of neighbours is needed.

But some homesteads must be flat-roofed throughout, though the cost in time and labour is great. For this is a taboo (*bihar*) of the Earth in some places. Almost all the senior tɛndaanas are therefore obliged to have all their rooms flat-roofed; and at Wakii and Tɛnzugu all houses within the acknowledged precincts of the principal Earth shrines (*tɔŋgbana*) of these places must be flat-roofed throughout. This affects the design and construction of the homestead in many details, but not in its basic pattern.

A homestead reveals much to the instructed eye. Its appearance and condition often betray the character, capabilities, social position, and experience of the owner and his wife or wives. The Gɔlibdaana of Tɛnzugu and the Yikpɛmdaana of Gorogo each have a large rectangular room of sun-dried bricks, built for them by boys trained at the White Fathers' Mission at Bolɔga, and used as sanctum, private storeroom, and personal sleeping-quarters. They are both wealthy, ambitious, upstart headmen, whose political and economic privileges are wholly dependent on the white man's rule. Hence, though themselves illiterate and of the generation that reached maturity before British rule became established, they are 'progressives', alert to useful or merely pretentious innovations that add to their prestige or bolster up their self-assurance. The Tɔŋraana, or, to go outside Taleland, the Nangodi na'aba, wealthy men too in virtue of their political role under the British Administration, but deriving their authority from the native social structure, do not require adventitious props to their prestige. Their private rooms are built in native style, with the useful addition of a rough plank door fastened with a padlock. A plank door is a rarity in Taleland, and very hard to come by. If a room in a commoner's homestead is fitted with one, it may be inferred that some member of the family has been abroad a good deal or has close connexions with people who are or have been in Ashanti, in the Colony, or in European service.

Most Tallensi take great pride in the appearance of their homesteads. A dilapidated homestead indicates that its owner is poor or infirm or lazy, and therefore unable to provide the foodstuffs to recompense relatives who might be asked to help him repair it. A good-for-nothing like Yɛlnaar of Tɔŋ-Puhug has a tumbledown dwelling which his neighbours point to with scorn. A man of more self-respect would be

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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[facing p. 49]

PLATE 4

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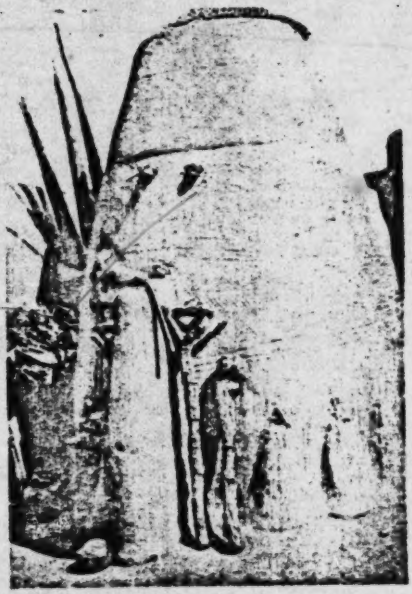

a. The central granary in the homestead of an elder. Note the array of ancestor shrines on the granary. The granary is about 10 ft. high and 5 ft. in diameter at the base

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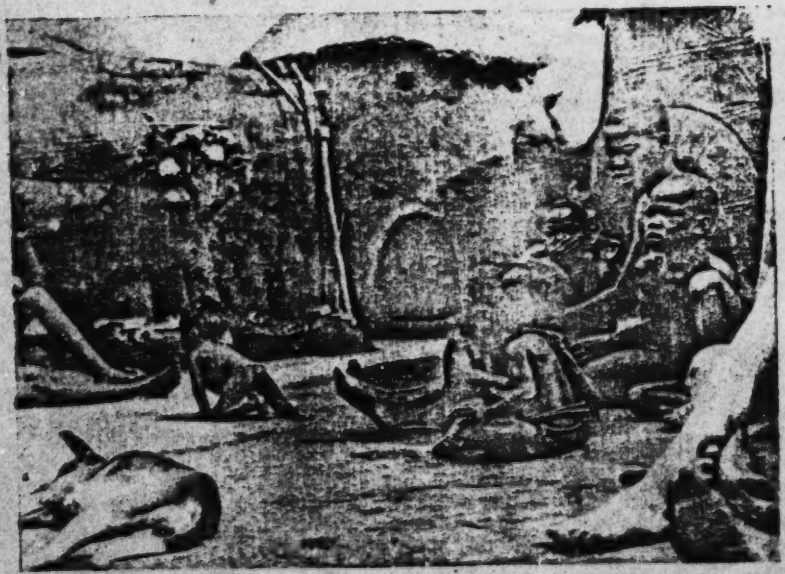

b. In the *Dendzyo* of the senior woman of the family. The infant children of several wives of the family left in the care of one of them. (This is the homestead of the head of a medial lineage. Note the lineage *boyar* against the wall on the left, part of it supported on a tree-stump and part on the floor in shallow pottery dishes)

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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592 356 ashamed of it and exert himself to the utmost to have it repaired. But a poor man who has the energy and can himself build and thatch, or has a son or sons skilled in these crafts, will generally keep his homestead in a satisfactory condition. On the other hand, even men who own cattle and sheep are apt to wait until the thatch is rotted through and the walls collapse before undertaking essential repairs. The ingrained thrift of the natives, fostered by their narrow margin of sufficiency in food-supplies, induces them often to submit to discomfort which would tax less hardy folk to breaking-point rather than expend food and other resources to alleviate it.

356 Indoors, Tale homesteads are usually surprisingly tidy. A good housewife sees that her quarters are swept every morning. Litter indoors is a sign that the mistress of those rooms is a lazy or a sick woman, or one too harassed by family cares or poverty to look after her home properly. A good housewife has her floors regravelled and beaten almost every year to keep them hard and smooth.

592 But individual idiosyncrasies do not affect the layout of a homestead; for apart from minor variations this depends wholly on the constitution of the domestic unit. The layout of a homestead is an index to the structure of the domestic family occupying it.

The simplest domestic and procreative unit is the elementary family—a man, his wife, and their young children—occupying their own homestead. Often the man's mother (*ma*), either his own mother (*ma dɔɣarug*—the mother [of] bearing), or a surviving co-wife (*nentaa*) of his mother lives with him. The whole group constitutes one household, that is, a single economic unit all the members of which are mutually dependent on one another for the production of their common food-supply and the satisfaction of most other wants. Essentially this is a matter of pooling labour and skill, of utilizing land in common, of drawing on the food, livestock, and to some extent monetary resources built up by joint effort, for the benefit of any member of the unit, and of mutual assistance from any private resources that the members may have.

592 351 778 A good example of a domestic family of this kind is that of Ɔndieso of Tɔŋ-Guŋ, a man in the late thirties whose homestead stands on the border of Tɔŋ-Dekpieŋ and Gbizug. Outside his homestead, 10 or 12 yards from the gateway, stands the usual shade tree. Ɔndieso's tree is also, like almost all shade trees, an ancestor shrine. Between it and the gateway is a bare space, with the midden heap (*tampɔɣar*) on one side and a large, round, flat-topped ancestor shrine built of pile on the other. It is the shrine of his late father's *Yin*. One or more ancestor shrines stand thus at the entrance to every homestead. '*Ɔn nso yirla*—it owns the house', the natives say, meaning by this a spiritual and not material ascendancy in the affairs of the family. It stands outside, at the entrance, as a spiritual sentry guarding the welfare of the house.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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If the head of the house is still junior in status in the lineage hierarchy, as Ɔndieso is, it will be the shrine dedicated to his father's Destiny (*yin*), or it may be his father's divining (*bakologo*) shrine. The house is still under the spiritual jurisdiction of Ɔndieso's dead father, though he himself now owns it in the temporal sense. A man of greater social maturity, with grown children and higher lineage status, would very likely have his own *yin* or *bakologo* shrine at his gateway. His house is established; it is no longer the fulfilment of his father's destiny, as is the house of a young man, though it may still be known by his father's or grandfather's name. For as long as a homestead remains standing it is known by the name of the man who first built it.

A bird's-eye view would show a homestead as covering a roughly circular or oval area (Figs. 2*a* and 2*b*). The space in front of the gateway (*zanɔne*—at the gateway) belongs pre-eminently to the menfolk. The public phases of funeral and mortuary ceremonies, which are corporate concerns of the lineage and are conducted by the men, take place there. When anything touching the rights, duties, or interests of the head of the family in his capacity as a member of a particular lineage calls for consultation with fellow members of the lineage, the *zanɔne* is the gathering place. It is the proper place for him to receive greetings, condolences, or congratulations, and to conduct formal negotiations in a matter such as the payment of bride-price owed to him or by him. In the dry season he often rests there, beneath the shade tree, during the sweltering afternoon, chatting with a friend or fondling an infant left in his charge while its mother is busy indoors. Women of the house come and go freely, and often sit or lounge about in front of the gateway; but when 'an affair of the men (*buraas yɛl*)' is in progress they keep away.

The gateway (*zanɔr*) always faces west to south-west, 'where the sun sets (*nintaŋ nluut*)'. This is a convention never broken by the Tallensi, though they have neither a naturalistic explanation nor a mystical rationalization for it, and it is not subject to mystical sanctions.[1]

The gateway is a V-shaped opening, about a foot wide at the base and 3 to 4 feet wide on top, between two round pillars (*meelɔŋ*) forming part of the wall of the house. Large irregularly spaced holes are made in these pillars for short logs to be inserted at night as cross-bars against which a heavy, hollow board (*bɛluŋ*), cut from a tree-trunk, or a bundle of poles can be leaned to close the gateway. Tallensi say that they build the gateway thus in order to bar it the more securely against the

[1] As the rain-bearing winds blow from the south-east, and the tornadoes that begin and end the rainy season come from an easterly direction, it is possible that the placing of the doorway on the western side of the house is an adaptation to this feature of the climate. Anyone who has experienced the discomfort of a tornado whirling straight into a room, or of a heavy rain, in this region will appreciate the usefulness of placing the only entrance into a homestead on the lee side. But no native has ever given me this obvious explanation, though this may be due to inadequate inquiries on my part.

[Text is continued on p. 54.—Ed.]

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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ingress of wild animals—in particular, the ubiquitous and thievish hyena, which prowls the settlements at night in search of offal and unprotected small stock—and the egress of their own livestock. Every gateway in Taleland must be barred at night, except that of the Chief of Tongo. This is a strict rule, and it is one of the conventions defining the social personality of the Chief of Tongo. It is also a sign of the privacy of the domestic unit in respect of the intimate life of its members.

Entering the *zanɔr* of a homestead, the visitor finds himself in the *sapak* or *nayaŋ*, the cattle-yard. It is the dirtiest and most insanitary spot in the homestead, its undressed surface being strewn with rubbish and with the dung or droppings of livestock, if the owner has any. One often sees human excrement in a corner, for young children and sick people defecate there at night. Ɔndieso is a very poor man, even by Tale standards, as the sagging roofs and dilapidated walls of his homestead lead one to suspect, possessing neither cattle nor sheep nor goats, and but a handful of poultry. Hence his *sapak* is very small, less than a dozen square yards in area. Ɔndieso's neighbour, the Gbizug tendaana, has a large *sapak*, about 80 square yards in area; but he has cattle, sheep, goats, and a couple of donkeys, not to speak of many fowls and guinea-fowls.

From the *sapak* one can see how the cylindrical rooms are laid out and distributed in the roughly circular or oval area occupied by the homestead. The first room, usually on the right as one enters through the *zanɔr*, is the *zɔŋ*. It is the only room with a doorway in the *sapak*, and it has a special significance in the structure of the house. It is the room *par excellence* of the head of the house (*yirdaana*), fittingly placed between the open space before the *zanɔr*, with which his public activities are associated, and the *sapak*, which shelters his most valuable possessions, his livestock. Cattle, sheep, and goats constitute material wealth, the repository of labour and thrift; but they mean much more than that to the Talɔŋ. They are pre-eminently the property of men, associated with men's major interests. They are the medium by means of which wives are acquired, and thus posterity assured. They are also the principal objects of sacrifice, by means of which the natives maintain their relations with their ancestor spirits and other mystical powers. In bad weather the *zɔŋ* itself is used to shelter the livestock. Inside the *zɔŋ*, along the wall, little cubicles are made for the *yirdaana*'s fowls to nest in. A man of substance often has a double *zɔŋ*, consisting of two chambers with a low doorway in the partition wall. The rear chamber is used as a stall for young calves or sheep, and the front chamber, communicating with the *sapak*, as a stall for a milch-cow or a donkey, for the night.

The *zɔŋ* is identified with the *yirdaana*'s status and social personality. It is a bare room, for a man does not keep valuable possessions, weapons,

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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or implements there. This is due partly to the values associated with it, partly to its use as a stall for livestock, and partly to its being an outside room from which things might easily be stolen. A young man like Ɔndieso has nothing but a couple of unimportant medicine horns stuck into the thatch, a log to sit on, and a few odds and ends in his rather tumbledown *zɔŋ*; for he makes little use of it. Yet the house would be incomplete without a *zɔŋ*; for the *zɔŋ* is the sanctuary of the *yirdaana*'s lineage-ancestor spirits. It is no profanation, in Tale eyes, to fold livestock there. The mundane and the mystical are complementary in Tale thought. Because the ancestor spirits abide there, a diviner holds his consultations in his *zɔŋ*. Among the Talis the lineage-shrine (*bɔɣar*) always rests inside or against the outer wall of the lineage head's *zɔŋ*; the Namoos generally keep such a shrine in an inside room or courtyard. Even if the other rooms of his homestead are thatched, a tɛndaana's *zɔŋ* must have a flat roof, because the spirits of his predecessors dwell there and the lineage *bɔɣar* and indoor shrines dedicated to the Earth are in it. The investiture of a tɛndaana culminates in his ritual induction into the *zɔŋ*, which is the final test of his acceptability to the ancestors and the Earth. A chief has a special *zɔŋ* (*zanto'o*), which is not only the sanctuary of the spirits of former chiefs but his council-chamber and the room in which he performs the rites that bless the community during the Great Festivals.

To an elder of great seniority in the lineage hierarchy his *zɔŋ* has a deeper value than to a man of junior status. A person's status is most conspicuously proclaimed at his or her death, when his or her social personality has to be cancelled by rite and ceremony. When a man of subordinate status in the lineage, a man who is not yet the master of his own house, or a young woman, dies, he or she is carried to the grave through a hole broken in the wall of the homestead for this purpose. But the head of a house, or an old woman, is carried out through a hole specially cut in the outside wall of the *zɔŋ*. '*Ti Ɣalis tɛbhɔm nla*—This is the [great] honour of us, the Tallensi', an informant explained to me. The conventional idea of one who deserves it is that of a man or woman who leaves children and grandchildren to perpetuate his or her line and to celebrate his or her decease. When his homestead is being rebuilt, an old man often tells his sons, half-jocularly but with more than a hint of earnestness: 'Hurry up with the roofing of the *zɔŋ*. I might die, and I don't wish to be carried out through the gateway because the *zɔŋ* is unfinished.' 'May Heaven permit me to attain to lying in the *zɔŋ*, when I die, and forfend the breaking of the wall for me to be carried out' a young man once exclaimed fervently when he was talking about the funeral of a worthy elder. The last rites by which a dead person is finally aggregated to the ancestor spirits take place in the *zɔŋ*.

The *zɔŋ*, the *sapak*, and the *zanɔr* stand for the ideological and jural dominance of the male line of descent. Together, and in particular

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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the *zɔŋ*, they symbolize the continuity of the lineage of which the master of that house is but one member, a link in a process to which he makes his greatest contribution as a father and head of a house. Hence the *zɔŋ* of a lineage head, being the sanctuary of all the lineage ancestors, is regarded as the *zɔŋ* of the whole lineage, and his *zanɔr* as the *zanɔr* of the lineage. When the Hill Talis were forcibly expelled in 1910–11 and their homesteads demolished, the heads of the maximal lineages later came back by stealth to rebuild a small part of their *zɔŋ* walls, for they could not appropriately sacrifice to their lineage ancestors elsewhere than in the lineage *zɔŋ*. If a woman commits adultery, she sins against her husband's lineage ancestors, thus imperilling the health and welfare of her husband and children. An adulteress, that is to say, transgresses the rights over her reproductive powers vested absolutely in her husband's lineage. Thus, if a woman is suspected of adultery she is subjected to the ordeal of entering (*kpe*) the lineage *zɔŋ* or *zanɔr*. She must face the ancestors directly, for she has committed an outrage against the lineage principle the absolute value of which is symbolized in and safeguarded by the ancestor spirits.[1] If she is guilty and does not confess, she will get ill and perhaps die. Women are terrified of this ordeal, which rarely fails to produce a confession.

Though they come and go freely in the *sapak* and *zɔŋ* in the ordinary course of domestic life, the women and children belong specifically to the domestic quarters proper. These lie behind a low wall (*yɛbɔg*) a yard or so in height and about the same in length, at the back of the *sapak*. This wall usually runs between the back of a kitchen or storeroom and a large bullet-shaped chamber from 7 to 10 feet high and 6 to 10 feet in diameter at the base. This is the granary (*buur*). One suffices for a small family like Ondieso's. A wealthier man with a more numerous household may have one principal granary and one or more smaller ones. A granary has only one opening, at the top, covered with a lid of tightly plaited thatch like an enormous hat.

In the granary, again, Tale architecture embodies a fundamental element in the structure of the domestic unit. A bird's-eye view of a Tale homestead would show the principal granary as standing roughly in the centre of the circle of rooms, rising like a beacon between that section of the homestead which in use, thought, and feeling is the domain of the men, and that section which forms the living-quarters and is ruled by the women. The granary is the pivot on which the smooth working of the domestic unit turns. It holds the millet and guinea corn which provide the staple food of the natives. Without this, life cannot be satisfactorily sustained from one harvest to the next, and the household cannot exist, let alone keep its unity. What a sufficiency of food means to the Tallensi has been described in our previous

[1] This is the complementary notion to that of 'polluting the room' described above, p. 28.

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she will become very discontented. A young wife sometimes runs off to her father's home because she thinks she ought to have her own *dug* and her husband has been dilatory about it; and she will refuse to return until he convinces her of his intention to build her *dug* immediately. The observance of this rule is an essential element in the structure of the domestic family. It is indispensable for the satisfactory working of the domestic economy and for the mutual adjustment of person to person. A wife's separate quarters stand for her relative autonomy as wife, mother and housekeeper, *vis-à-vis* the other women of the family.

As the head of the house is *yirdaana*, master of the house, so the senior woman of the house—his mother, or senior wife—is the *dugdaana*, the mistress of the rooms. Every woman is the *dugdaana* of her own apartments, but the mistress of the principal *dug* is the *dugdaana* of the whole house.

In a polygynous family, or what might be called a multicellular family, the senior *dugdaana* has more authority in domestic affairs, and more esteem in the eyes of the public than the other women of the household have. Whether she is the *yirdaana*'s mother or his senior wife, she is the central pillar of his domestic establishment, honorifically more than actively in the case of the former, actively as well as honorifically in the case of the latter.

One sign of this is that most of the ancestor and medicine shrines that are kept indoors rest in the *dɛndɔŋo* and rooms of the senior woman. They include a man's personal shrines, as well as those of which he is custodian as head of a lineage segment. Sacrifice is offered to these shrines in this *dɛndɔŋo*, the women and children of the family often taking part. A man's ancestors keep watch and ward both indoors and out over the things, the place, and the people most precious to him.

When a person dies he or she must not only be gathered to the ancestors, but must subsequently be ritually brought back, as a spirit, into the living quarters, the veritable home. The expression '*Kpeehu la dugni*—bring him [her] into the *dug*', used for this as well as the customary rites, make this clear.

The intimate domestic life of a family goes on mainly in the *dɛndɔŋo*. Meals are often cooked and always eaten there. Food is never cooked outside the homestead except for ritual or ceremonial purposes. A woman does much of her domestic work in her *dɛndɔŋo*. Her babies learn to crawl and to take their first steps there. She entertains guests and relatives, and receives her daughter's suitors there. When the crops are harvested they are spread out to dry in the *dɛndɔŋo* before being stored. A man often sits about in his wife's *dɛndɔŋo* when he has a leisurely manual task in hand. Youths and girls come to dance there when an elderly person's funeral is celebrated. And on pleasant nights, after a satisfying meal, men, women, and children sit there conversing or gossiping or asking riddles.

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homestead, thrashed him soundly, and destroyed many of his personal belongings. This is typical of the anger stirred up by adultery within the clan. Such action would not be taken against a man who committed incest with a father's or brother's wife, though he might be sent to Coventry for a time. For this kind of incest is, at bottom, a question of conscience. The public reaction with regard to it is of no consequence compared with the vileness of the sin and the wrath of the ancestors.

If a man's wife is seduced by a member of another clan, this is also adultery, as has been mentioned, and a wrong against the husband's clan. If the two clans have local or structural ties, the breach must be mended by the prescribed ritual reconciliation. If they have no such ties, no redress is available to the injured husband's clan. He and his clansmen will try to 'cancel the debt (*lɛrəg samər*)' by seducing the wife of a member of the clan that has wronged him, when any of them gets a chance of doing so.

A man's exclusive sexual rights over his wife are secured, also, by mystical sanctions to which the woman is subject. If she has sexual relations with any man other than her husband she commits a grave sin. It is, as the natives say, 'dirt' (*dayət*), mystical defilement. It may bring sickness or death on the woman's husband or children or even on herslf, for it is a serious affront to her husband's ancestors. As we have noted before, adultery (*pəyamboən*, lit. woman-thing) in a wife is regarded with revulsion not unmixed with real dread. The woman has committed something not far short of sacrilege, for she has flouted the rights of her husband's lineage over her reproductive powers. Hence she cannot be admitted to his home again until she confesses before the shrine of the lineage ancestors, the symbolic incarnation of the lineage itself. The threat to the life of the lineage is felt to be so grave that among the Hill Talis an adulteress is forced to confess at the External Bəyar,[1] the supreme ancestor shrine. Men do not hesitate to use the most callous third-degree methods, short of physical maltreatment, to exact a confession from a wayward wife.

Lastly, a man's wife continues to belong to him sexually after his death until his final funeral ceremonies have been made. Apart from a few ritual observances in sign of mourning, which do not embarrass her greatly, a widow is free to go about her normal life in the interval between her husband's death and his final obsequies. But she is subject to one iron taboo: she may not have sexual relations. It is a much graver sin than during her husband's lifetime, endangering not only her children and herself but her husband's spiritual status. A dead man whose wife has *kaa gaba*, broken the mourning of widowhood, as this misdemeanour is called, cannot have descendants given to him as spiritual wards, for his spiritual status is smirched. It is for this reason that, when

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. vii.

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PLATE 8

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a. A domestic sacrifice of fowls, guinea-fowls, and beer. The head of the joint family is addressing the shrine, which occupies a recess in his senior wife's *Dug*

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b. Omars and his four youngest daughters—each the daughter of a different wife—having a snack at mid-day

[Facing p. 129]

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613 622 554 the chiefs appointed since the coming of the white man. Unlike their predecessors they were mostly young men when they were appointed, some of them still having their natural fathers alive. But 'a chief', the Tallensi say, 'is the father of his clan. No one can claim fatherhood over a chief' (*ɔɔ pu dɔŋa na'ab la*—literally, no one has begotten a chief). Whatever their individual shortcomings, Tale chiefs have one thing in common, and that is a strong sense of responsibility for the welfare of their own clans.

778 554 As usual, this conception has a religious precipitate. It emerges in the status of a man's *Yin* shrine.[1] A man's *Yin* shrine is not fully established until it is ritually 'built' (*me*). Before that it is only a temporary and incomplete entity—even though it has been receiving sacrifices for perhaps twenty years. And usually it is not until a man belongs to the generation of fathers in his inner or medial lineage—that is, attains the status of being 'fatherless' in most social and ritual situations—that he 'builds' his *Yin*. Thus it often happens that a man dies before his *Yin* is built and his son has to carry out this rite. This applies also to the last stage in the development of a man's *Yin*, its removal to the *zanɔme*, the open space before the gateway. His father's *Yin* shrine is taken indoors and his is put in its place. This is a sign that he has reached the climax of his life. He is not only fatherless, but is perhaps the last of the oldest generation of the inner lineage. He has 'built a house (*me yiri*)', that is, has sons and grandsons to carry on the line and can spend what is left to him of his old age in honoured ease.

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601 613 It must not be thought from the foregoing that Tallensi never extend the term 'father' outside the inner lineage. They speak of all men in the clan or the maximal lineage who belong to the oldest age groups as 'fathers'—and by analogy address any old woman married into the clan as 'mother' and any older clansman as 'older brother'. But these are all courtesy titles. A man will always treat an old man of a different inner lineage to whom he gives the courtesy title of 'father' with respect; but he does not owe him any filial duties or come under his authority directly.

613 554 To round off this picture, let us return again to Zingan biis for a moment and consider the case of Da'amo'o (aged about 35). He is Kutɔbis's late older full brother's (*bier-soog*) son. He occupies the same homestead as Kutɔbis, but has his own gateway and is economically independent of Kutɔbis. Kutɔbis is his proxy father. In no circumstances can Da'amo'o claim to be 'fatherless'. He is not fond of Kutɔbis; but he cannot escape from his jural and ritual authority. Kutɔbis succeeded to his late brother's social role in full; hence Da'amo'o is his 'child' in all ritual and jural respects. This comes out in Da'amo'o's attitude to life. When a man in this position is asked about affairs that concern the clan, or even his inner lineage as a whole, he will often reply 'I am a child, I do not know. You must ask my older brothers and my

[1] *Cf.* p. 227 below.

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But a man's most important *Yin* is that with which certain of his ancestors are associated. This too may come to him in childhood, though it does so more commonly in early manhood. Usually it manifests itself to him through an accident or a coincidence. Thus a young man falls ill shortly after he has bought a new hoe or killed an animal in the hunt. The diviners then declare that his illness was caused by his *Yin*; his ancestors so and so, and so and so, are thus revealing themselves as his *Yin*; the hoe or the animal is their vehicle; they brought illness on him because they demand that he should accept them as his *Yin* and sacrifice to them. The young man will then build a shrine dedicated to these ancestors placing the skull of the animal or the blade of the hoe on it, and will henceforth sacrifice to them on this shrine. This is his first and most intimately personal shrine, and it plays an enormous part in his life thereafter. As far as his own personal affairs are concerned, it will always be his most important link with his ancestors. It is through his *Yin* that they exercise the most direct influence upon his life and that he seeks to maintain their goodwill specifically for himself. When he becomes head of his joint family he will entrust most of the children born into the family to his *Yin* as spirit guardian. Every important step in his social development will be registered in his relations with his *Yin*; it may be by a special sacrifice, or it may be by a change in the location of the shrine, or the addition of an ancestor to the group of ancestors who have revealed themselves (*naam*) as his *Yin*. A man's *Yin* is both the chart of his life and the helm with which he steers his way through life.

All the ancestors and ancestresses of a man have a potential mystical relevance for his life, but they have the same potential relevance for any of their descendants. His *Yin* ancestors, on the other hand, are concerned exclusively with him, for his own sake, so to speak. They form a particular combination, usually of very recent forebears, who do not belong together in just that grouping for any other of their descendants. They may be patrilateral or matrilateral ancestors or a combination of both lines. Thus a man might have as his *Yin* ancestors his father, father's father, father's father's mother, and her father, while his brother has their father, father's mother, and father's mother's father as his *Yin* ancestors. Of another pair of brothers, one's *Yin* ancestors may be their mother's father, maternal grandfather, and maternal great-grandfather; and the other's might be their mother's mother, her father, and his father (see Fig. 5, page 230).

Thus when a Talɔŋ says that his *Yin* and his eldest son's *Yin* are mutually dangerous, he is saying that his son's successful growth and development into and through manhood is a threat to his authority and primacy in the family, a symbol of the inevitable decline in his physical and mental power that comes with age, and a warning that he must in due course make way for the next generation; and yet it is also the

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the widow (or widower) during a funeral, or assist in the rites of purifying the widow or share her meals. Tallensi assert that a breach of this rule is impossible as no man or woman who had not had the experience would take charge of a widow. It is a taboo (*kihər*), and anyone who infringed it would die. Again, owners of diviners' shrines (*bakologo* shrines—the diviner is called *bayə*) are identified in certain situations, though they do not form a corporate body of any sort. Thus when a new diviner's shrine is being set up for a man certain portions of the beer used in the rites can be drunk only by men who already have such shrines, and it is they who carry out the final rites by which the actual power of divination is conferred on him. Similarly it is only men who have themselves undergone the experience and the treatment who may assist in the ritual of purifying a homicide or a man who has slain a big game animal such as a bush cow. The list of illustrations could be extended, but this will suffice to show how deeply rooted the idea is. It is, however, only a determinant of individual conduct and sentiment, giving rise to *ad hoc* co-operation in certain situations, and not a principle of association in corporate units.

Factors modifying the Sibling Bond

The solidarity and social equivalence of siblings are conditioned by a number of factors. Differences of sex and, between like-sex siblings, of age are important. But distinctions of equal or even greater significance are imposed on siblings by the fundamental principles of the social structure. Siblingship does not cancel out the uniqueness of the individual, as symbolized in the notion of the *Yin*, and socially crystallized in the precise differentiation of the lineage segment which he or she founds. This factor, with its counterpart in the family structure and the economic organization of the household, is not important in childhood, but increases steadily in influence with the years. It is the basis of the fission between fraternal descent lines and, consequently, of the ramification of a lineage sprung from one progenitrix. How it works out, however, in a particular case depends upon the position of each person in terms of patrilineal descent and maternal origin. Thus the sibling relationship, while itself an important constitutive factor of the lineage structure, is reciprocally moulded by that structure. The relationship of brothers among the Tallensi might very well have been different from what it is if their social organization provided for the continuous merging of collateral lines of descent in lineal lines,[1] so that lineage branches springing from brothers were not specifically recognized, but only the inclusive trunk-line deriving from a distant ancestor.

[1] This appears to be the case with the Nuer at higher levels of lineage structure (cf. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, Oxford, 1940, ch. v) and among some Southern Bantu tribes, such as the Zulu (cf. E. J. Krige, *The Social System of the Zulu*, 1936).

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PLATE 16

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a. The members of a segment of a maximal lineage gather at the homestead of the head of the segment to sacrifice to their immediate founding ancestor. 'Sisters' sons' of the segment have the right to be present. The sacrifice has been performed and the goat offered is now being divided up. The two 'sisters' sons' (nearest the camera, wearing caps) sit waiting for their portion of the meat. Note the active interest in the process of cutting up the goat taken by the members of the lineage, most of whom are standing up, by contrast with the passive interest of the 'sisters' sons' on the fringe

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b. Matrilateral kin come to set up a new shrine (the mud cone against the wall, right background) for the grandmother of Pirbazaa (extreme right)

[FACING p. 289]

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604 584 *pɔɣasama*. As has been previously stated, he is a clansman of the bridegroom who is also an *ahɔŋ* of the bride's clan—*ahɔŋ* being understood to include any sororal kinsman of whatever degree. The reason for this choice was well put by a group of elders with whom I discussed this subject. 'He (the *pɔɣasama*) is our (the bridegroom's clan's) person and is also their (the bride's clan's) person. He may not deceive us nor may he deceive them. If he deceives either of us the ancestors will not permit it.'[1]

604 584 764 The *pɔɣasama* appears in every transaction between the two parties to a marriage. He takes the placation gifts (*lu sɔndaan*) to the bride's father. When, later, the bride's father sends messengers (*duondɔm*) to demand the bride-price, the *pɔɣasama* conducts them to the person responsible for paying the bride-price and assists in the negotiations. Many a marriage is saved by the skill and patience of a *pɔɣasama* in persuading the bride's people and the bridegroom's people to a compromise on the question of bride-price payments. He must be present whenever bride-price payments are made; for if, at any subsequent time, a dispute should arise as to what was paid, his word is final. The *pɔɣasama* also acts as intermediary in all the formal claims, services, and duties that arise between the parties as a result of the marriage. He is the messenger who goes to announce the birth of her first child to the bride's parents. If a woman's father or mother dies, the *pɔɣasama* conducts the party sent by her husband with his obligatory food contributions to the funeral, and he hands these contributions over to his 'mother's brother's lineage (*ahɔb yidɔm*)'. In this and similar jural or ritual relations between the husband's people and the wife's people, the *pɔɣasama* has to be present both as a witness of the transaction and as a mediator, in case the recipients object to the quantity or quality of the food contributions or the payments offered. For though the obligations of the parties in such situations are clearly defined by custom, there is room for much quibbling over details. Custom declares that a man must kill and cook a goat or a sheep to send to his father-in-law's funeral at a certain stage. But one man will, out of generosity or as a special sign of respect, kill a large goat, whereas another will be mean and choose a puny animal. I have seen violent arguments arise between a son-in-law's messengers and his late father-in-law's lineage over a point of this sort. The mere presence of the *pɔɣasama*, even if he is but a young lad, has a conciliatory influence. As will be remembered, the *pɔɣasama*'s role does not come to an end on his death. It passes to his brothers and sons, like any other attribute of his social personality.

604 778 There are other situations in which an *ahɔŋ* acts as intermediary between the members of his paternal clan and his matrilateral clan. For example, the setting up of a divining (*bakologo*) shrine for a man is done

[1] *'U a tam nit ka le a bam nit; u ku too m-paah tam, u ku too m-paah bam-mi; ɔn paah ti ɔ kpiinam la ku saɣi.'*

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for him by the lineage of the ancestress who has demanded the erection of the shrine. The diviner-to-be is himself a 'sister's son (*àhəŋ*)' or 'grandson (*yaaŋ*)' of the men who come to perform the ceremony of establishing the shrine. But in addition, a member of his clan who is also an *ahəŋ* of the visitors' clan is deputed to act as intermediary. He goes out to meet the visitors when they approach and escorts them to the homestead of the diviner-to-be; and he acts as spokesman for the latter throughout the ceremony. Thus he formally 'shows' (*paal*) the visitors the beer and the fowls and the goat that have been provided for the ceremony and acts as mediator if there is a disagreement about the amount or quality of these provisions. In the ritual situations that make up the ceremony the visitors sit together in a group and the diviner-to-be and his clansmen sit together in a group. Between the two groups sits the selected *ahəŋ*. As is customary in all such situations, the two parties do not address one another directly. They address the intermediary, who 'passes on (*saŋ ti*)' what was said to the other party.

Similarly, if a dispute occurs between segments of different clans, for instance over the abduction of a wife, the injured group might send one of their members who is a 'sister's son' of the abductor's clan, with a message of protest and a demand for the return of the wife. An *ahəŋ* is the appropriate person to act as go-between in negotiations between different clans. In the system of clanship ties, it will be remembered, intercalary lineages are sometimes credited with being the agnates of one clan and the 'sister's sons' of the other.[1]

As has been suggested, Tallensi maintain that an *ahəŋ* acting as an intermediary in inter-clan transactions is bound to be equally faithful to both parties. This does not mean that an *ahəŋ* is always equally loyal in sentiment to both his patrilineal and his matrilateral—especially his immediate maternal—kin. Tallensi say that when there is a clash of interests a man will always side with his patrilineal kin while endeavouring, if possible, to refrain from bringing harm on his maternal kin. The behaviour of an *ahəŋ* in war between his and his mother's brother's clan is a case in point.

But there is a belief which suggests that the loyalty of an *ahəŋ* to his mother's brother's lineage may, in some circumstances, outweigh his loyalty to his own clan. In the old days of warfare, it is said, if a man was killed in fighting, there was a way of taking vengeance on the slayer by means of sorcery. The arrow that slew the victim was extracted, and the clan and lineage of the slayer were ascertained. This was easy. Every inner or medial lineage of a clan usually has a distinctive mark (*daan*). One lineage, for example, may tie a tiny guinea-fowl feather at the base of the arrow-head, another may use a particular species of grass. By inquiring from their sororal kinsmen in the enemy clan the victim's lineage brothers soon discovered which lineage the slayer

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 44 ff.

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and few people who have an interest in it escape hearing of it in advance. It is the same with funerals. Close extra-clan kin of the dead are informed, distant extra-clan kin, unless there is some special reason for sending them a message, find out indirectly.

An *ahəŋ* is not obliged to attend a sacrifice at his mother's brother's house (*ahəb yiri*); but if it is an important sacrifice, or if it is being made by his own mother's brother, he generally makes an effort to be present. Again, an *ahəŋ* whose home is near to that of his *ahəb* will be more likely to come than one who lives farther away. Thus, as has been recorded, Barimoda seldom missed a sacrifice at his true mother's brother's homestead which was very close to his own. Yinworəb, on the other hand, did not attend a single sacrifice at his mother's brother's house at Yinduuri during the year he was with me. It must not be thought, though, that a sacrifice at one's *ahəb yiri* is considered to be of no consequence. Tallensi say they would always go if they could, for their matrilateral ancestors have powers of blessing only little less than their agnatic ancestors; but it is not compulsory when the sister's son is not himself bringing the sacrifice. As every man has shrines consecrated to those of his matrilateral ancestors who have revealed themselves as directly concerned with his life, in his own home, he generally attends sacrifices at their lineage home only on special occasions or when they command him to offer sacrifice there.[1]

Thus when a man performs a private sacrifice in his own home a close sister's son or two may be present; it would be most unusual to find an *ahəŋ* more distant than a father's sister's son present. But in the majority of such private sacrifices, judging from the several score I have witnessed, sisters' sons are not in attendance. When, however, a cow is sacrificed to a lineage *bəyar*, there are always *ahəs* present; perhaps only one, perhaps half a dozen, including both near and distant sisters' sons.

As we have mentioned before, the right of a sister's son to be present at ritual ceremonies at his mother's brother's house is recognized by the allocation to him of a prescribed share of the sacrificial meat. He receives the neck of every animal sacrificed. One of the lighter moments at the end of a major sacrifice is the good-humoured wrangling of a group of

[1] We are here touching on one of the most complex features of Tale religious custom. The shrines consecrated to a man's matrilateral ancestors in his own homestead provide him with an indirect route to them. When he sacrifices to them on these shrines, he is, as it were, approaching them through an intermediary spirit or group of spirits. He is never able to approach them directly. Only their agnatic descendants can do that. Generally a matrilateral ancestor spirit (male or female) who has a shrine consecrated to him or her by a daughter's son or descendant demands sacrifices on that shrine. But there are many occasions on which the spirit demands that the sacrifice be offered to him or her directly on the shrine consecrated to him or her at a son's or agnatic descendant's house. It is on such occasions that the 'sister's son' or 'grandson' has to take the animal he has been commanded to offer to the homestead of his 'mother's brother' or 'grandfather'. See below, p. 324.

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604 764 571 funerals, comes because of the social importance of the occasion. The funeral of a section or maximal lineage head is of exceptional public interest. It marks the end of a phase of lineage history and the beginning of a new phase, involving realinements in the social relations of many people and probably of all segments of the clan. That is why every branch of the dead man's clan, representatives of related clans, and many matrilateral and sororal kinsmen come to take part in the funeral.

63 571 602 782 For similar reasons the ceremony by which the *bɔyar* of a lineage of a high order, such as a medial lineage or a maximal lineage, is formally taken over—'inherited (*vaa*)', as the natives put it—by a new lineage head is also attended by many 'sisters' sons' and 'grandsons' of the lineage and the clan. This ceremony marks the re-establishment of the structural equilibrium of the lineage around a new lineage head after its temporary disturbance by the death of the previous lineage head. It is an event of special importance for reaffirming the bonds of lineage solidarity and of kinship amity—for renewing, in the presence of their founding ancestors, the covenants of clanship and of kinship. All the males of the lineage, including the small boys, and representatives of all the other segments of the clan attend; and extra-clan kinsfolk from far and wide are present. I have counted as many as thirty, ranging from the full sister's son of the new lineage head to a distant 'sister's son', whose matrilateral ties with the clan went back to the founding ancestor of his maximal lineage, at such a gathering. Though it is a festive occasion, the attraction of food and drink is unquestionably of minor significance. Only two or three sheep, at most, are sacrificed, in addition to a large number of fowls; but every adult who attends is expected to bring a fowl to be offered to the *bɔyar* on his behalf. 'Sisters' sons' and 'grandsons' take special pride in offering their fowls, for this is the essence of the sacrament. An atmosphere of great goodwill and fellowship prevails, suffusing the most solemn moments of the sacrifice itself.

793 602 It is very much the same with the installation ceremonies of a newly appointed tendaana or other holder of a politico-ritual office. Extra-clan kin, clansmen, representatives of linked clans and of ritually associated clans, all come in great numbers to the ceremonies, bringing fowls, dishes of cooked food, baskets of grain and of ground-nuts, and other voluntary gifts to congratulate the new chief or tendaana and to testify to their kinship bonds with him and his clan. These ceremonies are, in effect, simply an elaboration of the ceremony of 'inheriting' a lineage *bɔyar*. Their significance is the same, but in a heightened degree, corresponding with the wider social sphere to which they refer. 'Sisters' sons' and 'grandsons' closely related to the new chief or tendaana are as proud of his elevation in status as are his close agnates.

604 769 778 This is one aspect of a man's ritual relations with his 'sisters' sons'

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and 'grandsons'. There is another, and in some ways more important, aspect. Every man sacrifices to both his agnatic ancestors and his maternal ancestors, as we have seen. He has shrines consecrated to ancestors of both lines in his homestead. The ancestors who constitute his *Yin* are very often matrilateral or include matrilateral ancestors. Indeed this is so common that a *Yin* that has no matrilateral ancestors is somewhat unusual. Knowing the significance of the *Yin* shrine as a symbol of a man's individuality, we can see why his connexion with his mother's side is apt to be stressed in it. Again, every man erects a shrine to his mother when she dies, which in the course of time may develop into a very important shrine for him. There are other shrines, too, which are consecrated to matrilateral ancestors. The most important of these are divining shrines (*bakologo*) and *bɔɣar* shrines.

A *bakologo* shrine is, by definition, a 'female (*bumpɔk*)' shrine. That is to say, the ancestors associated with it come, by definition, from a matrilateral lineage of the diviner; and the dominant figure among them is usually a woman, a 'mother'. It is a point of striking significance in the social psychology of the Tallensi that the spirits through whom a diviner makes contact with the ancestors of his clients should constitute a 'feminine' group,[1] the more so when the character of the *bakologo* complex is understood. The *bakologo*[2] is the very incarnation of the vindictive and jealous aspect of the ancestors. It persecutes the man in whose life it has intervened relentlessly, until he finally submits and 'accepts (*die*)' it—that is, until he undertakes to set up a shrine to the *bakologo* spirits in his own home so that he can sacrifice to them regularly. He then promises, also, to use the shrine for divining. But not every man has a talent for divining, so most men simply have the shrine and do not use it for divination. It is interesting to note that nine out of ten men over 40 have *bakologo* shrines. Every man, and not only those who have suffered exceptional misfortunes, is directed by the religious system of the Tallensi to project his deeper feelings of guilt and insecurity largely on to the mother image embodied in the *bakologo* complex. Usually, also, a man does not immediately yield to the demands of the *bakologo* ancestors. He temporizes, evades, and resists, perhaps for years, until he is at last forced to submit and accept the *bakologo*. This 'cools (*maa*)' or subdues the *bakologo*. By giving the spirits a home in his own house, where they can be cared for, their victim transforms their hate into love. They may still inflict misfortunes on him, but he has a means of placating them since he can sacrifice to the shrine. In return for the sacrifices they

[1] Cf. what was said on p. 235 above about the cruelty attributed to female ancestor spirits.

[2] As with all religious terms of this class among the Tallensi, *bakologo* is used both for the shrine (*baɣɔr*)—the tall, conical object built of mud and smeared with the dried blood and feathers of sacrifices—and for the group of ancestors to whom the shrine is dedicated. It signifies also the whole configuration of ideas and beliefs associated with the shrine.

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778 787 769 will henceforth bring blessings upon him, too, from time to time. And if he becomes a diviner the erstwhile persecutrix becomes his benefactress. The *bakologo* becomes a source of income instead of a standing menace.

613 769 778 791 As has been mentioned before, a divining shrine is set up for the man it has 'reached (*paa*)' by his matrilateral lineage from which the dominant ancestress of the complex came. For example, Pal-Zəŋ's *bakologo* ancestors consisted of his father, paternal grandfather and great-grandfather, and the latter's mother, who was the dominant figure of the group. She had been a daughter of the Gbambee Tɛndaana's maximal lineage. Zəŋ, therefore, had to go to the present head of this maximal lineage to arrange for the setting up of his *bakologo* shrine. Taking a fowl, a guinea-fowl, a basket of grain, and a pot of beer, Zəŋ went to the Gbambee Tɛndaana to lay his request before him. The tɛndaana sacrificed the two birds to his lineage shrine (*bəɣar*) on Zəŋ's behalf, explaining in his invocation to his ancestors the occasion that had brought their *ahəŋ* to plead with them. He ended with the customary exhortation to the ancestors that they should bless the setting up of the new *bakologo* shrine, assist Zəŋ to become a successful diviner, and grant him prosperity, children, and health. He finally 'scooped' (*fiŋ*) the lineage *bəɣar* for Zəŋ. That is to say, he put a little of the sediment accumulated at the bottom of the pot, which is the most important part of the paraphernalia of a *bəɣar*, into a tiny pot for Zəŋ to take home to add to his new *bakologo* shrine. In this way the direct continuity of the new *bakologo* shrine with the matrilateral lineage *bəɣar* is tangibly symbolized.

Next evening a party from Gbambee arrived at Zəŋ's homestead to perform the ceremony of actually setting up the new shrine. The party consisted of the Gbambee Tɛndaana's own son, representing his father, and several other members of his maximal lineage; for though the immediate responsibility for the ceremony falls on the head of the lineage, the whole lineage is concerned in this ritual service to their *ahəŋ*. At Zəŋ's house they found a number of members of his inner lineage and clan as well as three *ahəs* of Zəŋ's inner lineage. The ceremony lasted all night. The details are not relevant here, and it need only be said that it consists of a series of ritual episodes with interludes of conviviality and hilarity. It is one of the paradoxes of the *bakologo* complex that the setting up of a divining shrine is one of the least solemn of Tale ceremonies.

769 602 The ancestors associated with Zəŋ's *bakologo* comprised a fairly simple combination. Naabdiya's *bakologo* ancestors consisted of his mother's father, *his* mother, and *her* mother. It was the clansmen of the last who came to set up the shrine for their 'grandson' (*yaaŋ*) Naabdiya. To reach them Naabdiya had first to go to his mother's brother's people; they escorted him to his maternal grandfather's mother's brother's

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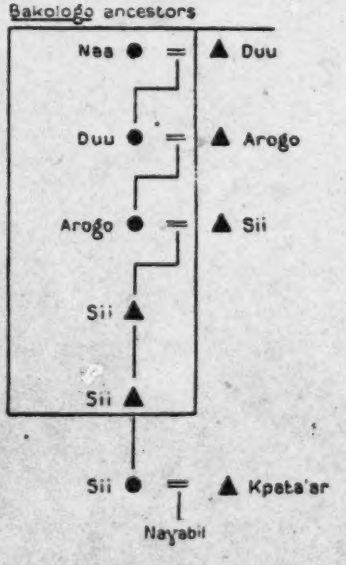
lineage, and thence he was escorted to his maternal grandfather's mother's mother's brother's lineage. At each place he had to sacrifice a fowl and a guinea-fowl to the lineage *bɔŋar*. Nayabil's *bakologo* ancestors were his mother's father, *his* father, *his* mother, *her* mother, and *her* mother. Zɔŋ knew of the ancestress who was the dominant figure in his *bakologo*. He had been to Gbambee to attend sacrifices to the lineage *bɔŋar* as an *ahɔŋ*, both as a child, accompanying his father, and as an adult by himself. Naabdiya and Nayabil had never heard of the ancestresses who dominated their *bakologo* shrines before they revealed themselves as *bakologo* ancestresses. They had never before been to the natal clan settlements of these women; and once their divining shrines were established would probably never go there again.

One reason for this difference is spatial proximity. Zɔŋ lives about three miles from the Gbambee Tɛndaana; the matrilateral kinsmen who set up Naabdiya's shrine live about twelve miles from him, and those who set up Nayabil's shrine nearly fifteen miles from his clan settlement. But more important is the genealogical distance involved. Zɔŋ is considered to be a fairly close *ahɔŋ* of the Gbambee Tɛndaana, Naabdiya and Nayabil count themselves distant 'grandsons' (*yaas*) of the matrilateral kinsmen who thus almost accidentally became socially relevant for them.[1]

Though matrilateral ancestors are particularly conspicuous in connexion with the *bakologo* complex, they can be associated with many types of ancestor shrines. Hence few men pass through life without having at least one such experience as that of Naabdiya and Nayabil. Tiezien, for instance, had a magnificent baobab tree outside the entrance to his homestead. It was a stalwart sapling when Tiezien was born and



[1] Nayabil is a Kpata'ar man, and the matrilateral kinsmen who came to set up his *bakologo* were not Tallensi but Mamprusi from beyond the White Volta. This is an interesting illustration of how extra-clan kinship in this part of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast cuts across 'tribal' and political boundaries. As the attached genealogy, showing Nayabil's genealogical connexion with his *bakologo* ancestors and ancestresses, indicates, it is also a beautiful illustration of how matrilateral kinship 'travels' (*kyɛŋ*) through intermarriage between adjacent clans. The result is that genealogical distance by matrilateral ties is closely correlated with socio-geographical distance, as in this instance.

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could not have been less than 80 years old. This tree was the centre of the communal life of the neighbourhood. It was, as every native would automatically expect, also an important ancestor shrine. A few years after it sprouted Tiezien's paternal grandfather discovered through a diviner that his mother's father and *his* mother, a Pusunamoo woman, had chosen the baobab as their shrine. The Pusunamoo woman's maximal lineage consecrated it for Tiezien's grandfather. Thereafter sacrifices were regularly offered on the tree. In due course Tiezien succeeded to the custody of this shrine. Then came the influenza epidemic of 1918. Many people died at Kpata'ar, including members of Tiezien's inner lineage and wives and children of the lineage. A diviner revealed that these deaths were being inflicted by the Pusunamoo ancestress in retaliation for long neglect. She demanded that Tiezien should collect a large number of fowls from all the members of his inner lineage and take them to Pusunamoo to be sacrificed to the lineage *bɔyar* of her medial lineage as an atonement. This was Tiezien's first and last contact with his matrilateral kin at Pusunamoo up to 1936.

It is evident, from these examples, as has been previously suggested, that the majority of a man's remote matrilateral kin are not socially relevant for him. All, however, are potentially so and may become so at some time or another; and when they do enter his field of social relations it is chiefly in their ritual capacity.

We said that the most important ancestor shrines linking a man to a matrilateral lineage are *bakologo* and *bɔyar* shrines. Of the two the *bɔyar* shrine is, in fact, the more important. As we have shown in our earlier book,[1] the ancestor cult of the Tallensi culminates in the conception and cult of the *bɔyar*. This notion and the cult that expresses it form the centre of gravity of the lineage system. Hence it seems strange, at first sight, to find that every *bɔyar* must necessarily be derived from a matrilateral lineage. We can understand this, however, if we consider the significance of the *bɔyar* in the lineage system.

A *bɔyar* is the shrine consecrated to the founding ancestor of a lineage and his mother. It symbolizes the identity of that lineage and its differentiation from other lineages of the same order within a more inclusive lineage or within a clan. A lineage expands by a process of internal segmentation and differentiation that follows the lines of cleavage inherent in the structure of the joint family.[2] The component segments of a lineage are differentiated from one another primarily by reference to their descent from different 'mothers'—that is different wives of their common founding ancestor. But a woman does not sever her ties with her lineage when she marries and becomes a mother; and in kinship questions Tale thought is dominated by the lineage concept. Hence Tallensi think of a lineage progenitrix not only as such-and-such a

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 137.
[2] Ibid. ch. xii.

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named person but also, and chiefly, as a member of such-and-such a clan and lineage. When Tallensi discuss the internal structure of a maximal lineage what they emphasize is the clan and lineage origin of the several 'mothers' of its segments.

When a new segment begins to crystallize out in any lineage, it requires a *bɔyar* of its own to symbolize its identity. And since its genealogical distinctness comes from its progenitrix, its *bɔyar* must come from her lineage. This is simply a consequence of the fact that the notion of the *bɔyar* is a ritual conceptualization and sanction of the singularity, as well as of the unity and the continuity of the lineage. A new lineage segment can only arise, among the Tallensi, by derivation from an existing lineage. It is, one might say, a rearrangement within the existing social system, and does not represent a breach of continuity. The *bɔyar* symbolizing it is, similarly, an offshoot and replica of an existing *bɔyar*. To put this in another way, a person's status (i.e. the sum total of his rights and duties in relation to Tale society at large and to all the other members of the society) is at bottom determined by his or her descent, as we have previously shown. When he becomes an ancestor spirit his mystical attributes and powers are not absolutely autonomous arising solely from the fact that he begot sons and then died. Whatever their real psychological roots may be, in Tale religious thought these attributes and powers belong to an ancestor spirit because when he died he 'went to join his forefathers (*kyeŋ paag u banam*)' and because he represents his whole line of ancestors in a particular situation or context. Hence every ancestor shrine either is or in course of time becomes the altar for a group of lineally related ancestors and ancestresses, never for one ancestor alone. A shrine consecrated to a particular ancestor is *ipso facto* consecrated to his agnatic descendants that come between him and the owner of the shrine. Sacrifice is offered and prayer addressed to the whole sequence of ancestors, in order of ascent; for the more remote ancestor can only be approached through the less remote. This principle is well illustrated in the examples of *bakologo* complexes quoted earlier. It applies to both patrilineal and matrilateral ancestors. Even when a man sacrifices to his own father's or mother's spirit he invokes them to 'attend with all their forefathers (*ba dɔl ni ba banam waabi*)'. Conversely, when an ancestor intervenes in his descendant's life he can only do so through the medium of those who came between him and his descendant.

It would take us too far afield to discuss all the evidence of the significance of this principle in Tale religion. One more item must suffice. According to Tale thought, an unnatural death is one that is shown by divination *not* to have been mystically caused by the ancestors. The physical cause of the death makes no difference to the issue. A person may die of old age; if none of his ancestors claim to have caused his death, this is a sign that he was not 'human (*ninvoo*)'—that is a full social being. He was a disguised bush-sprite. He is not given human burial,

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he does not join his forefathers, he does not become an ancestor spirit. This shows that it is not the fact of death that turns a person into an ancestor spirit but the fact that, as Tallensi believe, he is summoned (*buol*) by his ancestors and goes to join them.

Thus when a lineage progenitrix becomes an ancestor spirit, she does so as the bearer of mystical powers and attributes that reside in the collective body of her lineage ancestors, symbolized and made accessible to man in their lineage *bɔyar*. Looked at in this way, too, the *bɔyar* consecrated to her and her son must be an offshoot of her lineage *bɔyar*.[1]

In addition, there is the obvious point that a segment of a lineage cannot symbolize its distinctness by means of a *bɔyar* derived from their own lineage *bɔyar*, which is the symbol of the genealogical and social unity of the lineage, not of its internal differentiation. The lineage *bɔyar*, as is evident, is the most esoteric symbol of the principle that runs right through Tale social structure, that social differentiation within the lineage framework springs from maternal origin. This principle operates in lineage structure;[2] and we have seen how, at the other end of the scale, it constitutes the springboard of individual differentiation in the structure of the joint family.[3] This is a further instance of the consistency of Tale social structure at all levels conferred upon it by the kinship system.

A new segment of a lineage begins to crystallize out as a recognized corporate unit in the time of its founding ancestor's grandsons. For it is not until then that the process of fission in the lineage has gone far enough to separate his grandchildren and his brothers' grandchildren into distinct nuclear lineages. Thus it is a man's grandson or great-grandson who sets up a *bɔyar* consecrated to him and his mother. According to the idiom of Tale religious thought, the ancestor demands that a *bɔyar* be set up for him and his mother. A day is appointed for the ceremony, and all the descendants of the progenitrix, through both males and females, are informed. In the morning or early afternoon the head of the new segment takes a fowl, a goat or sheep, and a pot of beer to the head of his grandmother's inner lineage, or in some clans, medial lineage. The men of that lineage assemble so that all of its branches are represented and the animals are sacrificed to the lineage *bɔyar* on behalf of the *ahəŋ*. Then the *bɔyar* is 'scooped' for him, in the same way as was described in the case of the diviner's shrine. The *ahəŋ* goes straight

[1] In theory, obviously, the only lineage *bɔyar* that need not be derived from another *bɔyar* is the *bɔyar* of a maximal lineage. Actually most maximal lineage *bɔya* conform to the pattern we have described. The only truly sovereign *bɔya*—i.e. *bɔya* not derived from other *bɔya*—are the External *Bɔya* of the Talis and their congeners. And it is significant that the component maximal lineages of these clans generally have two *bɔya*, one the domestic representative of the External *Bɔyar*, the other a distinctive *bɔyar* derived from their founder's mother's lineage. Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. vii.

[2] Ibid., ch. xii.

[3] *Supra*, Ch. III.

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home, where in the meantime the other members, both men and women, of the new segment and the 'sisters' sons' and 'grandsons' of the segment who have been able to come have gathered. The head of the new segment arrives, followed, as the Tallensi think, by the spirits of his grandmother's ancestors. He now performs the sacrifices by which the new *bɔyar* is consecrated. He himself offers a sheep. All the other male members of the new segment bring a fowl each to be sacrificed on their behalf and *ahɔs* and *yaas* all do so too. A large pot or earthenware dish, inside which the small pot containing the sediment 'scooped' from the grandmother's lineage *bɔyar* pot is placed, forms the altar. Henceforth this will be the *bɔyar* of the new lineage segment; and there will be a similar communion rite embracing all the descendants of the founding ancestor and his mother whenever the *bɔyar* is inherited by a new lineage head.[1]

We have now considered the most important ritual services matrilateral kin render to their sororal kin. The ritual services rendered by sororal kin to matrilateral kin are, as might be expected, of far less consequence. In funeral ceremonies, for example, there are a number of rites in which it is necessary to have the participation of an *ahɔŋ* of the deceased. The rite of cooking 'the porridge of sisters-in-law (*pɔyakiis sayabo*)', which has been previously mentioned, is typical of these rites; and it is typical of them, also, that anybody who can, by any stretch of the term, be described as *ahɔŋ* can serve in them. All these rites express the fact that a person's death is of concern to his or her sororal kin as well as to his or her patrilineal kin, and affects the field of social relations of the former as well as that of the latter. Hence in all funeral rites a special portion of the meat, cooked food, and beer used is allocated to the 'sisters' children', whether few or many are present. Matrilateral and sororal kin do not, however, undergo mourning rites.

Apart from funerals, there are one or two other special ceremonies in which the services of an *ahɔŋ* are needed. Thus in the ceremony of exorcising an evil Predestiny (*Yinbe'er*) an *ahɔŋ* is required to perform the final act of sympathetic magic. This consists in collecting the magical paraphernalia used in the ceremony—all of which symbolize the wish that the evil Predestiny may depart and conceal itself for ever—and throwing them away in some barren spot. A 'sister's son' is called upon

[1] There is a point of religious doctrine that cannot be fully discussed here but must be mentioned to avoid confusion. Every important ancestor shrine is a means of making a whole line of ancestors accessible to its possessor. Now the collective mystical power of a patrilineal line of ancestors reposes in the lineage *bɔyar*. Hence every important shrine has to be linked up with the lineage *bɔyar* of the dominant spirit to which it is consecrated. That is why when a *bakologo* is set up, the *bɔyar* of the matrilateral lineage from which it is derived is 'scooped' for inclusion in the new shrine. Broadly speaking, the ritual validity of every ancestor shrine goes back to a *bɔyar*. But the setting up of a new lineage *bɔyar* is a very special ritual landmark.

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of sleeping-rooms and kitchens (to be described later) distributed roughly in a semicircle round an open space, 10 to 15 feet across, bounded on one side by a co-wife's quarters or a low partitioning wall. This little close (*dendɔŋo*) is the central place in the life of the family. Here it takes its meals in the dry season; here friends are received; here most of the routine of family life goes on. A man's principal ancestor shrines are kept in his mother's or senior wife's *dendɔŋo*; and there he performs many of the frequently recurring rites of the ancestor cult. The women of a single household have adjacent quarters. Their husband's mother or the senior wife occupies the central quarters; junior wives or son's wives are on either side of her, forming altogether a rough circle or segment of a circle. A householder who is not also head of the compound has no room of his own. He keeps his private possessions in his senior wife's sleeping-room. Apart from this, it is the cardinal principle of family life that a man must divide his time, his affection, and his supplies of food with absolute impartiality between his wives.

Within the compound two other kinds of rooms are of special importance for our theme, the granaries and the grinding-rooms. Every independent agricultural unit has its own granaries which are said to belong to the head of the unit. His granary (*boor*) is a man's most private and personal possession. No woman may enter it, nor any man not directly authorized by the owner. Ritual prohibitions associated with it closely identify a man's granary with his social personality. As one informant put it, with a flash of insight, 'Your granary is like your soul'.

One or more grinding-rooms (*neer*) belongs to every well-differentiated household. These are discussed later.

The family structure thus outlined is the basis of a domestic economy and of a configuration of moral, legal, religious, and personal relationships which can best be described as a compromise between strong centralizing or integrating tendencies and powerful differentiating tendencies. In the domestic economy of food, our sole concern in this paper, every unit in the system is completely autonomous in some respects and dependent upon a more comprehensive unit in others. It is a fluctuating compromise, slowly changing. Births, deaths, marriages, and their social consequences, even the mere lapse

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Plate II

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516

A small boy 'sacrificing' to his own 'shrine' (posed)

857
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291
244

Gleaning groundnuts, one of the ways of learning to use a hoe. The child on the extreme right is a girl

[facing p. 17]

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Whenever they build miniature houses, during the building season, 857
' shrines ' are added and, as in real life, each has his own. 524

Play with these shrines is woven into other play activities, and it 869
revolves around sacrifice. When a small boy goes out hunting for fieldmice or birds, if he happens to have a ' shrine ' he will ' give it water ', i.e. pour a libation to it. Ashes represent flour, which is stirred up in water as in a real sacrifice. He invokes the shrine, ' My father ' (but never mentioning names as in real sacrifice since his own father is probably still alive), ' accept this water and grant that I have successful hunting. If I kill an animal, I will give you a dog.' Some time later he may catch a live mouse, and when he has played with it to satiety he ' sacrifices ' it on his shrine—this is the promised ' dog '. A nestling bird found alive is ' sacrificed ' as a ' fowl ' or ' guinea-fowl '. If he finds a live mouse or bird by chance it will always be taken home and ' sacrificed ' thus before it is cut up and eaten. Taboos like those of adults are invented for his shrines. Fetishes, like those of adults, accept only red and black ' fowls '; other shrines only white ones. Siikaəni, a small boy of about 7 or 8, built him- [778 ●
self a *loo* fetish, which can be dispatched to ' tie up ' any one 789]
who might interfere with one's enterprises. Siikaəni pretended to use his *loo* to keep the parents of his ' sweetheart ' out of the way when he went to see her—a frequent use of a real *loo* by young men.

Of the imaginative and constructive play produced as a response 857
to current social activities in which children co-operate, I shall 524
instance only building. During the building season a favourite pre- 868
occupation of the children is to build miniature rooms or houses. It is a co-operative group enterprise, boys and girls frequently working together, led by a boy of about 12–13. It is carried on in the intervals between helping the men. Sometimes they are content to build only walls, a few inches high, but when the leader is keen they undertake a complete replica of a house—walls a foot or more high, several rooms properly arranged, a roof, a beaten inner court, and shrines. The work goes on for days on end and needs planning and organization. The girls and smaller boys make the swish and roll it into pellets, the older boys do the actual building, often with extraordinary skill. When the ' house' is built and roofed and the walls have dried, if the

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226 789 782 [778] typical both of the particular magic and of all Tallensi magico-religious rites—but also many variations in the rites, the apparatus, and the personnel, from instance to instance. Morphologically, the essential and recurrent constituents of every magical rite are the apparatus (*bayar*), the medicine (*tiim*), the sacrifice (*kaab*, vb.), and the invocation (*ka*). The fetish mobilised in this situation is a *Ba'ar*, which may be translated as *Clamp*. Its material vehicle (the *bayar*) usually comprises a medicine pot, a tree stump, and a large stone, at the owner's house, together with some portable objects such as a cow's tail and an axe shaft encased in crocodile skin and greasy with the blood of sacrifices and anointings of medicine. These are brought along to the river and have obvious symbolic reference to the notion of the *Ba'ar* as holding down or inhibiting dangerous creatures and men, just as an axe-head is tightly clamped on to the shaft.[1] The magical performance *in situ* is the culmination of a series of magical and religious rites commenced earlier in the day or even on the previous day at the houses of the owner of the pool and of the magical specialist. A day or two in advance, the owner of the pool, assisted [787] by elders of his family, consults a diviner to discover what sacrifices to make to his ancestor spirits in order that nothing untoward should spoil the fishing. He will learn also what animals to provide for the sacrifices to be made by the magical specialist. Usually it will be a number of chickens. In the special circumstances of the *Bolgraana's* first fishing expedition he had to give a goat to be sacrificed by the owner of the fetish. The latter sacrifices at his own compound where he prepares the medicines—roots, bark or twigs of several species of trees. The rest of the magical rites can be observed at the fishing pool. The rites are private, performed without the cognizance of, or any display of interest by, the multitude assembled for the fishing. Those who happen to be near [424] pay no attention, even when they are not asked to move off. This is characteristic of Tallensi magic, ownership of which is inviolable.

The officiant mixes some millet-flour in a calabashful of water scooped from the pool to be fished and begins to recite his invocation in a low and hortatory voice. He addresses the *bayar*, the material objects dedicated to the ancestor who originally possessed the magic. His invocation is not a fixed spell. He improvises according to his gifts and experience. But the theme and the manner of the invocation are stereotyped. He calls upon his male ancestors by name in ascendant order, stressing particularly the original owner of the magic by frequently calling his name in the course of his invocation. He explains the occasion, and half entreating half commanding, exhorts them to drive crocodiles and dangerous fish into their holes or out of the pool so that no one should be injured, to prevent fighting between the people about to enter the water, and to give them a good catch. There is much repetition in the invocation and the officiant is constantly prompted by his co-adjutors. Calling upon his ancestors to come and accept the sacrifice, he pours some of the flour water on to the *bayar* objects or directly into the

[1] Note the distinction: *bayar* is the generic term for every kind of sacred object: *Ba'ar* is the name of this particular fetish.

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the earth with his bare foot; he may not pluck a blade of grass or engage in agriculture, and so on. Tendaanas observe none of these taboos. They again may not wear any cloth garment, but only skins, for a white gown of cloth is put upon the chief at his investiture. Cloth garments, horses, guns, are traditionally tabooed to all Tallis, since they were characteristic of the Namoos. Chief and Tendaana regard these taboos as of the very substance of their respective offices, as moral obligations to their respective communities. So also property lost on the land or stray animals must be handed over to a Tendaana on pain of supernaturally inflicted death. But stray cows, dogs, or vagrant humans go to the chief. Most important of all, the religious practices of the Tallis are dominated by the cult of the earth shrines (tɔŋbana)—sacred groves, streams, pools, etc.—to which the Namoos as a group have no access.

The polarity thus institutionally registered is paralleled by standardized political attitudes. In the sporadic fights of pre-European days Tallis and Namoos were traditional enemies. This is not only recollected in tales but vividly expressed in the military pantomine which accompanies every funeral ceremony. Tallis at their funerals fling taunts and challenges at the Namoos, and the latter retaliate at their funerals. When his patriotism is aroused, a member of one group will speak of the other group superciliously or derogatorily, forgetting for the moment, perhaps, that they are his own mother's kinsmen.

Between Chief and Tendaana, between Namoos and Tallis, there are barriers, but not a gulf, an equilibrium and not an irreconciliable disjunction. The fulcrum of this equilibrium is the Tendaana of the Gbizug lineage. Geographically placed between the Namoos and the Tallis, he is the ritual and political mediator between them. The principal Tendaana of Baari can directly approach the Chief of Tongo; but the Tendaanas of the Hill Tallis or of non-Tale clans can only approach the Chief through the Gbizug Tendaana. In the old days it was he who made peace between the traditional enemies after a fight. A ritual and social equilibrium of high tension exists between Gbizug and Tongo, symbolized in the peculiar relations of the Tendaana and the Chief. Tradition, distorted by each side to its own aggrandizement, relates that it was the first Gbizug Tendaana who received and gave land to settle on to the ancestor of the Tongo Namoos. The final and most solemn of the rites by which a new chief of Tongo is inducted, rites which will be referred to again, must be carried out by the Gbizug Tendaana. Upon him rests the responsibility and the privilege of making the sacrifices for the most sacrosanct fetish of the Tongo Chieftainship, that which safeguards the life and well-being of the Chief and thus

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From this divination emerges, first, whom the ancestor spirits have selected to bring the sacred Gingauŋ drum, after which the Namoos' festival is named, out of the Chief's court chamber. There are two Gingauŋ drums: a small one, the sacred one brought by their ancestor Mosur, and a large one, subsequently manufactured merely to add liveliness to the dance. Second, the seance establishes what sacrifices have to be made upon the shrines of the original ancestors of Tongo. In this seance the Chief and his elders, the representatives, metaphorically speaking, of the clan conscience, show how vividly the hallowing of the tradition is felt by them. The sacrifices have a double intention; to thank the ancestors for a successful harvest of early millet and for the standing crop of guinea corn, and to avert quarrels and disputes which might occur when great concourses of people flock to the dance. It is for fear of quarrels which might lead to bloodshed and thus to unknown supernatural calamities that only a youth authorized by the ancestor spirits may inaugurate the dance. The divination, as befits the joyful occasion, is nevertheless cheerful.

The sacrifices are carried out immediately, and ritual then sinks into abeyance for a time. The nightly dance occupies the center of social interest, until the moon begins to wane. For a night or two the children have almost complete possession of the dedicated dancing field, practicing their awkward steps. With the waxing moon adults throng to the dance, until in the end even young mothers come out carrying sleepy infants, and the drummers cannot be seen in the center of the great mass of poeple.

This first phase is aptly known as the Gingauŋdeema, "play Gingauŋ." It is monopolized by the younger adults and adolescents, who try out the dancing songs. But the season gets its name mainly from the sexual effervescence associated with it. Women are the cause of the disputes which threaten the peace of the dance. Not a day passes without an elopement, planned on the dancing ground. Unfortunately, few of these marriages survive the festive period; and that, perhaps explains why there is a taboo against carrying out any of the legal formalities of marriage during this month. For Baari and Tongo, the Moon of Waters is a dangerous month, in spite of the festivity, because of the human passions aroused, as is evident from the fact that it is a grave sin to shed blood on the earth, even from a scratch or cut. Strangers, and in particular Tallis, flock to watch the dance, and of course to find lovers. But only Namoos may enter the dance.

A fortnight's lull ensues during which the guinea-corn is harvested. Then comes the Moon of Daa, so named from the final phase of the festival, and the "real Gingauŋ," Gingauŋ mɛŋa. But I must resist the tempta-

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Daa (the supreme bɔyar of the Baari people) and Mosur will jointly prosper the land. Then he departs. That day Baari celebrates Daa.

That same evening the large Gingauŋ drum is escorted to Baari by the Gbizug Tendaana and the Wakyi Tendaana, following a ritual path. All Tongo flocks to Baari to dance with great enthusiasm on a traditional spot outside the grove of Baat Daa. Near the dance, but silently aloof, wait the Gbizug and Wakyi Tendaanas. A few hundred yards away, as if indifferent to the dance, young men of Baari assemble, wearing their ritual garb, a goatskin. When the Baari Tendaana and his ritual coadjutors arrive to join them, the Gbizug and Wakyi Tendaanas are summoned. Greetings are exchanged, and then led by the Baari Tendaana, the whole company files away in a most solemn and silent procession, brought up by the youngest members carrying pots of consecrated beer. With utter gravity this procession thrice encircles the dancers who continue to dance as if oblivious to this. Anyone who dares to break through the encircling procession is doomed to a supernatural death. The procession files away again, into the sacred grove. There the Tendaanas pour libations of beer to Baat Daa, calling down the very same blessings as had been invoked by the Chief earlier in the day. They drink the beer and send a small pot out to the representative of the Chief, who is among the dancers. Now the Tendaanas' procession emerges, again solemnly encircles the dancers, and files away. At a tree which marks the path to Tongo they stop, and marching round it in a circle, chant a song the burden of which is Mosur boot kuliga ("Mosur wants to go home"). Upon this signal the allusion of which is obvious to all, the dance breaks up, the ritual is over.

That finishes the Gingauŋ dance for a year. The next three days at Tongo are given over to the gayest festivities of the season, the celebration of Daa. This is a New Year's festival, a fitting conclusion to the dancing season. Dressed in their best and gaudiest clothes, the whole of Tongo assembles at the Chief's compound on the day after the rites at Baari. From far and near, Tongo women who have married away return to their homes, many bearing gifts of special food from their husbands. The Chief's house throngs with his people and strangers. His elders bring him presents of guinea fowls and he, sitting in state, has a bullock slaughtered, part of which he shares amongst them. The Chief, it is true, gets the better part of this exchange of gifts, but good form is satisfied. The afternoon is devoted to light-hearted dancing in praise of the Chief.

The Gbizug Tendaana has also celebrated Daa, but very quietly. That evening, however, Chief and Tendaana meet in ceremonial. The scene is the dancing ground. This is a dedicated area which may not be cultivated.

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For this was the site of the first Gbizug Tendaana's compound when he received Mosur; and it is here that the Gbizug Tendaana receives every newly elected Chief of Tongo. After his investiture the Chief must never set foot in it again.

Towards evening a brother of the Chief arrives at the dancing ground, wearing the red cap and the gown, the insignia of a chief, and followed by boys carrying pots of beer. He takes his seat on the flat rock on which every newly elected chief sits down to await the Gbizug Tendaana. For an hour or two he sits gravely there, receiving the humble greetings of the men of Tongo. He is Chief for the nonce. Then a messenger arrives to announce the Gbizug Tendaana. The latter, escorted by men of his lineage, arrives in the dark and greets the mock-chief. The beer is divided out among those present, and then the Tendaana retires a dozen paces. In a voice inaudible to the Namoos, he calls upon his ancestor, the first Tendaana, and asks for the blessings of a good harvest, wives, children, and happiness in the coming year. The mock-chief dismisses his people and takes the homeward path, followed at some distance by the Tendaana and his people. As soon as he arrives at the Chief's compound, he and every other person in the compound, including the Chief himself, hides behind closed doorways in the rooms. The Tendaana enters a silent and empty compound. He goes to the secret place where the sacrosanct Chieftainship fetish is kept, pours a libation to it, and asks blessings for the Chief and all the land. When he has finished he enters the Chief's room to offer him New Year greetings, and so departs. Thus is the Chief every year renewed by a symbolic drama reenacting his first installation.

Two more days of festivity remain, during which all Tongo celebrates the New Year. Great quantities of food are cooked; there is visiting and counter-visiting, especially by affinal and cognatic relatives, and every one congratulates his neighbor on having seen another year. But the major interest of Daa is the holocaust of sacrifices which accompanies it. Fowls, guinea fowls, dogs, sheep, goats are slaughtered by the dozen in sacrifice to ancestors and to medicine fetishes. The roots of the latter are renewed, and thus given a new lease of life. There is more dancing to celebrate this, and another visit of the Baari Tendaana to the Chief to invoke blessings for the coming year. When the moon ends a few days after, the Namoos have finally done with their Harvest and New Year festival. Before that the Chief may not eat of the new guinea corn, though commoners do.

Two points deserve notice in this series of ritual celebrations. First, they express clearly the ambivalent relationships between the Namoos and their neighbors, and the bridging function of the Gbizug Tendaana. It is as if they were joined in a mutual responsibility each for the other,

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based upon a profound antagonism. Second, the rites evidently recreate and regenerate the religious, the magical, and the traditional bulwarks of the social life of the Namoos.

A week later the scene shifts to the Hill Tallis. On the first day of the following moon, Bɔɣaraam ŋmarig, the Tallis begin their harvest festival of the same name. Despite the difference of name, it is the Daa festival translated into the peculiar and esoteric ritual idiom of the Hill Tallis. Namoos and Tallis, as the exclusion of the former from the inner mysteries at Baari indicated, constitute two religious sects. The cult of the bɔɣar, after which the Hill Tallis name their festival, dominates the religion of all the Tallis, but is known to the Namoos only by hearsay. Its hypertrophied development among the Hill Tallis is indeed completely hidden from their own sect-brethren at Baari and Gbizug. A bɔɣar may be a grove of trees, a cave in the hillside, or a small natural enclosure made by trees and boulders. It is truly sacred, for it may be entered only for ritual purposes, and in the company of all the ritual officiants. A bɔɣar's communicants generally comprise a group of linked lineages or of several clans, each of which appoints one officiant. All the ritual of the bɔɣar cult is built up on the notion of sacrifice, and every officiant or his representative must be present at every sacrifice. It is an axiom that a quarrel or dispute between communicants must be healed at once, by rites of reconciliation at the bɔɣar. The bɔɣar is the pinnacle of their ancestor cult, for it is there that all the ancestors of the communicants reside. It has tremendous magical power, amoral, like all Tale magic, and therefore applicable both for beneficient and maleficent ends. Thus its potency as fertility magic is widely renowned, and it can be invoked to bring death and destruction upon an enemy, by its communicants.

This, and much more, I learnt with very great difficulty, only after I had been initiated. For many months my enquires were fruitless. The Namoos know the dates of Bɔɣaraam, and the dances. Of the rituals they had, despite centuries of intimate contact, absolutely no knowledge. Indeed they refuse to hear of it, for they regard the cults of the Tallis with fear and aversion. The Tallis, on the other hand, never ceased to warn me against betraying what I had seen to my Namoos friends. It is, for them, the sin against the Holy Ghost punishable by instantaneous death, inflicted by the bɔɣar. This, the most absolute cleavage between the Namoos and the Hill Tallis, depends upon the fact that the latter initiate their sons into their cult. Nothing corresponding to initiation exists among the Namoos or even Gbizug or Baari. The Bɔɣaraam ritual is at the same time communion, initiation, and offering of first fruits.

The various bɔɣar congregations commence the ritual of Bɔɣaraam on

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may be given his name; and the same rule applies to all cult groupings of ancestors, for example at *gu'as*, at *tɔbɔga*, at *nɔya-dɔk* and other shrines. 551 553

What about BANTAŊ and BANTAMBIL? This name literally translated means crocodile. It is one of very many animal names given to people and these again are part of the larger class of names taken from natural objects in general. Other names that fall into this class are NAAHO, cow or bull, BAA, dog, WAAFO, snake. They are very common either in their root forms or in the usual derivative forms. So are names like KURUG, iron, KUGƆR, stone, TEE, tree, and their compounds. There is nothing totemistic about such names. How they arise can best be made clear by an example. When TINTA'ALƆM was a youth he went on a communal fishing expedition and had the good fortune to catch a young crocodile. This is regarded as both a feat of skill and a sign of great good fortune. Not only is it difficult to catch crocodiles on these battues but it often happens that anybody who tries to catch one he has sighted gets bitten, and the consequences may be very serious. Men have lost limbs thus and some have even died as a result of such bites. So when TINTA'ALƆM got home his father at once took him off to consult a diviner. It emerged that the episode with the crocodile was a manifestation of TINTA'ALƆM's *yin*, specifically of his grandfather's wish to be recognised as one of his *yin* ancestors; and in due course, after the necessary rites had been done, the skull of the animal was placed on the *yin* shrine to commemorate and symbolise the event. The spirit of the crocodile caught on this expedition thus becomes one of the votive elements of the *yin*, and if the ancestor associated with the occasion claims a child as a ward it will be given the name BANTAŊ. 776

This is the standard pattern of belief and observance when a votive element is part of an ancestor shrine. Thus, to continue with TINTA'ALƆM's Yin, among its votive objects are a much worn hoe blade and the skull of a cow. The explanation is that TINTA'ALƆM was a hard working farmer. He prospered and was able, by occasional sales of surplus grain, gradually to acquire some livestock. In middle age his *yin* ancestors demanded a cow from him as a thank-offering — symbolically, the first cow he was able to acquire as the fruits of his good fortune. After the sacrifice, the cow's skull was placed on the *yin* shrine. But long before that, when TINTA'ALƆM had saved enough only to buy his first sheep, his *yin* had directed him to dedicate to it his hoe, the implement with which the good farmer gains his living. When his first hoe, the hoe he had bought for himself to cultivate his own land, wore out he placed it on his *yin* shrine in dedication. 551 776 778

What happens in the case of a child of this family whose private name is NAAHO, cow, or KUUR, hoe, or KURUG, iron, is that one (or more) of the ancestors who have manifested themselves as watching over TINTA'ALƆM's Destiny — that is, as his *yin* — on demanding this child as a ward has declared the cow or the hoe have been his special vehicle. Sacrifices offered on behalf of the ward will be given to all the ancestors manifested in the *yin*, but the cow or the hoe blade will be particularly cited. 553 776 778

Similar ideas and beliefs are associated with other ritual vehicles of the ancestors. Thus one KURUG I knew was the spiritual ward of a divining (*bakologo*) shrine. His father had fallen ill shortly after shooting a python and this proved to be the manifestation of a matrilateral ancestor demanding recognition. Both the arrow

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553 776 778 head and the python skull were placed on the shrine that was eventually consecrated to the *bakologo* spirit and my informant's name was a reference to the arrow head. One of *his* sons taken in guardianship by the same shrine was named WAAFO, snake.

[775] This case is interesting from another angle, too. The Tallensi have no belief in reincarnation. There is no special bond between a person and his ancestral namesake. He is not supposed to resemble or expected to emulate his ancestor. His name is a display of pride in ancestry, on the one hand, and a sign of submission to the religious supremacy of the ancestors, on the other. Thus he has no special ritual observances, on account of his name, if he is the ward of a patrilineal ancestor. [614] But if his *seyor* is a matrilateral ancestor, this person might have belonged to a clan different from his own. In that case he is often obliged to keep the totemic taboos of the clan of this ancestor. Thus in the above case it is not altogether an accident that the slain python turned out to be a manifestation of a matrilateral ancestor whose clan have a taboo against killing and eating this animal. Children taken in spirit-guardianship by this ancestor have therefore to observe the same taboo, whether or not it is followed by other members of their family and clan.

553 776 I do not want to follow further the complex ramifications of this aspect of Tale naming customs. One more detail must suffice. The greatest renown, that is the most respected *wu'uri*, comes from election to an office. A chief (*Na'ab*) or Custodian of the Earth (*Tendaana*) is always addressed and referred to by his title. After his death he is certain to have descendants through his sons, grandsons, and daughters, placed under his spiritual guardianship. They will be named either by the name he took to himself on election to his office, which I shall describe presently, or by his title. NA'AB, NA'ABPƆK, TENDAANA, etc. are common names among descendants of such dignitaries.

And here it is pertinent to add that certain forms of disgrace which are associated with ritual danger result in the suppression of ancestral names. Thus if a man dies of smallpox, or is killed in war, his name is never given to a descendant. He will be remembered in sacrifices if he has descendants but not in their names.

551 553 I want to turn now to the open names. Their variety is extraordinary. A few refer to accidental or conventional circumstances connected with the birth of the bearer and are therefore fairly frequent. ZIBA, knows not father, is the name always given to a posthumous child. SAMANE, the home farm, is a common name. It is given to a child whose mother was overcome by labour pains while engaged on some task on the home farm. SUOR, path, has the same origin. TAMPƆƔAR, the garbage heap, may be the name given to a child born after the onset of labour pains at the ash heap. But it also arises in this way. A woman has had several children all of whom have died soon after birth. This is failure or malevolence on the part of the various ancestors who claimed these children as wards. When her next child is born the father says: "I give this child's life to be watched over by the garbage heap. My ancestors have failed me, for all that my children are good for is to be buried (as babies that die are so buried) in the garbage heap." This is a well tried magical idea, found also elsewhere in West Africa and in many other parts of the world.